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**THE ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH INSTITUTES
IN THE FORMULATION AND EXECUTION OF SOVIET
FOREIGN POLICY**

STANFORD RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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**THE ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
INSTITUTES IN THE FORMULATION AND
EXECUTION OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY**

By:

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ABSTRACT

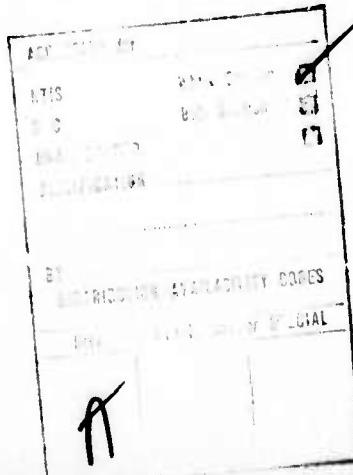
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FOREWORD

In the long-term global competition between capitalism and socialism, the Soviet Union designs and implements complex strategies which encompass a wide range of political, military, economic, social, ideological, and scientific-technological factors. These strategies, therefore, require a sophisticated assessment and projection of developments and trends in these spheres. It is important to understand the critical role assigned the social science research institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences in analyzing and interpreting data for the formulation of Soviet foreign policy.

This report on the role of social science research institutes in Soviet foreign policy formulation and implementation is one in the series of national security policy research support papers (SRI project 2625), sponsored by the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency. This research is also a part of a long-term venture initiated by SRI's Strategic Studies Center, under the direction of R. B. Foster, which received the sponsorship of appropriate government agencies, to establish a research dialogue with two institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The resultant relationship was developed by means of three joint SRI-IMEMO-IUSAC symposia (April 1973, September 1974, and June 1975) and now includes a parallel research effort on "U.S.-USSR Relations in Detente."

The authors wish to acknowledge the valuable contributions of Dr. Michael J. Deane, Harriet Fast Scott, Dr. Vladimir Petrov, Charles H. Movit, and Dr. G. Paul Holman, Jr.

Richard B. Foster
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Strategic Studies Center

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I SOVIET SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE COMPETITION BETWEEN TWO WORLD SYSTEMS

In the Soviet framework, the dynamics of social change and of international relations are defined in terms of an irreconcilable class struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems. Soviet policymakers wage this intersystemic competition on all fronts, encompassing political, military, economic, ideological, social and scientific-technological factors. From this holistic approach, strategies are designed, the intent of which are to facilitate and effectuate a successful communist resolution of the struggle by exploiting Soviet opportunities and Western vulnerabilities. Such complex strategies, involving as they do a wide variety of instruments and techniques at various levels of conflict, demand for their implementation a sophisticated means for assessing the systemic struggle.

A. The Role of the "Correlation of World Forces" in the Assessment Process

In Soviet analysis, the "correlation of world forces" is the theoretical concept by which progress in the competition between the socialist and capitalist systems is measured, taking into account political, military, economic, scientific-technological and other factors. Soviet spokesmen have historically stressed that the correlation of forces is the principal basis for defining what they call the "new quality" of international relations. Furthermore, they have insisted throughout the post-war period that the correlation of forces is continually shifting in favor of the Soviet-led camp and away from the United States and its allies.¹

¹ See, for example, the CPSU Central Committee's Letter to the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Pravda (14 April 1963); Boris Ponomarev, "The Role of Socialism in Modern World Development," Problemy Mira i Sotsializma (Problems of Peace and Socialism), No. 1, pp. 4-13 (January 1975).

This thesis, of the correlation of forces progressing in favor of socialism, was conditioned initially by the emergence of various phenomena in the 1950's which required new Soviet interpretations of the course of world socio-political development: (1) the transformation from a single socialist state, the USSR, to a socialist camp, including Eastern Europe, North Korea, North Vietnam, and China; (2) the dissolution of the European empires and the emergence of independent states in the Third World; and (3) the growth in Soviet military capabilities, consolidated by the acquisition of nuclear weapons (1949), the creation of the Warsaw Pact (1955), and Soviet successes in space (1957). Although as early as 1956 Moscow began to assert that a shift had occurred in the correlation of forces, the advent of strategic military parity at the end of the 1960's produced a quantum change in the correlation and thus, in the Soviet view, drastically altered the context of the East-West relationship.¹

Soviet analysts contend that the Soviet Union's ascendancy to a position of strategic military parity deprived the United States of the capability to deal with the USSR "from positions of strength." A corollary Soviet argument is that this shift in the military balance has enhanced the influence of nonmilitary factors on the correlation of forces, since an "inherently hostile" capitalist-imperialist camp is less likely to revert to use of force under such conditions. Moreover, it is apparent that the Soviet political strategy for the current period, peaceful co-existence, is directed toward both the achievement of military superiority and world-wide socialism through diplomacy, economic competition and other non-military means.

¹ G. A. Trofimenko, "Military-Strategic Aspects of the 'Nixon Doctrine,'" in Yu. P. Davydov, V. V. Zhurkin, and V. S. Rudnev, eds., Doktrina Niksona, Moscow, "Nauka," p. 54 (1972); G. A. Arbatov, "U.S. Foreign Policy and the Scientific-Technical Revolution," SShA: Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya (USA: Economics, Politics, Ideology), No. 10, p. 3 (October 1973).

The efficacy of contemporary Soviet foreign policy therefore is dependent, to a great extent, upon the validity and applicability of the Soviet assessment process. The correlation of world forces provides the general doctrine and background against which individual events and relationships are interpreted and constitutes a framework for net assessment.¹ In addition, Soviet analysts are charged with collection and analysis of current, detailed data and with adapting Marxist-Leninist ideology to contemporary conditions and Soviet state needs, in accordance with the requirements of the competition between the two systems. Given the nature of this correlation of world forces doctrine, accurate analysis and forecasting of systemic factors--political, military, social, economic, ideological and scientific-technological--are essential.

B. Scientific Socialism as a Key to Struggle

According to the Soviet leadership, the Soviet foreign and domestic policy process must be grounded on the general methodology of "scientific socialism."² While the scientific socialist approach is multidimensional and, in fact, a subject of controversy among Soviet theoreticians, the CPSU's leading theoretical journal, Kommunist, has explained its application thus:

The party's theoretical and practical activity rests on a strong foundation of objective assessments and accurate information and on the correct utilization of the objective laws of socialism and the achievements of science. All party documents devoted to domestic problems and foreign policy conditions of the building of communism are distinguished by their strict scientific nature and party-mindedness. Specific problems

¹ G. Shakhnazarov, "On the Problem of the Correlation of Forces in the World," Kommunist, No. 3, p. 77 (February 1974).

² See V. G. Afanas'yev, Nauchnyy Kommunizm (Scientific Communism), 2nd edition (Moscow, Politizdat, 1969); V. G. Afanas'yev, ed., Nauchnoye Upravleniye Obshchestvom (Scientific Direction for Society) (Moscow, "Mysl'," 1974).

are not examined and solved in isolation from other problems, but in a complex manner--taking into account their multifaceted links and mutual dependence, and the possibilities of their development today and in the future.¹

This approach therefore places all relevant data into the context of Soviet concepts of the dialectical-historical law-governed processes of society, in order to yield assessments which guide the building of communism in the USSR and direct Soviet efforts in the competition between systems. Soviet leaders regard this as a "creative" methodology, since it combines the "science" of Leninist ideology with the analysis of new phenomena of social development.² Moreover, in an effort to improve the quality of the approach, Soviet social scientists are urged to work more closely with natural scientists, so that the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution can be best applied to the resolution of political, economic and social problems.³

Emphasis is also placed upon the forecasting of trends in social development.⁴ Soviet disdain for Western futurologists centers upon the latter's disregard for the Marxist-Leninist approach, and does not reflect a criticism of futurology per se. Soviet theoreticians claim that the dialectical analysis of concrete phenomena will reveal the future course

¹ Editorial, "The Effective Force of the Leninist Principles of Party Leadership," Kommunist, No. 16, p. 6 (November 1974). The Chief Editor of Kommunist since 1974--when this editorial was written--has been V. G. Afanas'yev, author of authoritative works on scientific socialism.

² M. A. Suslov, CPSU Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member, "The Social Sciences--The Party's Combat Weapon in Building Communism" Kommunist, No. 1, p. 27 (January 1972).

³ V. Zagiadin, "The Revolutionary Process and the International Policy of the CPSU," Kommunist, No. 13, pp. 16-17 (September 1972); Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "Topical Problems of the Social Sciences," Kommunist, No. 5, pp. 28-29 (March 1975).

⁴ C. Glezerman, Socialist Society: Scientific Principles of Development, p. 56 (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1971).

of world development and thus allow the Soviet leadership to effect "concrete decisionmaking" and "manage" global phenomena.¹

Scientific socialism therefore constitutes the guiding principle which underlies all social science research and analysis in the Soviet Union and which defines, in general terms, the parameters within which such research is conducted. In this regard, Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, who oversees the Social Science Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has stated that the recent "creative psurge" of Soviet social sciences

...is consistent with the increased significance of scientific theory in understanding the inordinately complex and contradictory processes of worldwide social developments, now inseparably linked with the revolutionary changes in science and technology. The management of social phenomena and of the processes of the creation of new--socialist and communist--forms of social life could not be successful unless based on the profound theoretical interpretation of these processes.²

C. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU and the Redirection of the Social Sciences

Although the scientific method of analyzing social and historical phenomena was accepted long before the accession of the present Soviet leadership,³ the current emphasis dates back to the CPSU Central Committee plenum which ousted Nikita Khrushchev in October 1964. According to Kommunist,

At the October [1964] plenum the CPSU Central Committee resolutely condemned all attempts to replace the scientific approach to phenomena of social life with unsubstantial improvisations and to ignore the objective

¹ V. Kelle, "The Role of Social Science in the Management of Social Processes," Kommunist, No. 7, pp. 54-64 (May 1974).

² Fedoseyev, op. cit., p. 28.

³ N. S. Khrushchev, "On the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," Report to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, 18 October 1961, in The Road to Communism, pp. 267-268 (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House).

economic laws of the development of socialism when solving major economic and social problems and sharply criticized the adoption of voluntarist and purely administrative decisions and unconsidered, hasty restructuring of the control apparatus.¹

The conduct of social science work, as well as of Soviet policies in general, prior to October 1964 is criticized for failure to apply objective--i.e., scientific--methods, and thus failing to solve the problems and pursue the goals of the USSR. Available evidence reveals that the October 1964 plenum dealt with these issues negatively, leaving the responsibility for enunciation of a positive program for social science conduct to the 23rd Party Congress, which occurred in March-April 1966.

The policy line set forth at the Congress made clear that the Khrushchev-era sins of "subjectivism" and "voluntarism" no longer would be tolerated. For example, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, A. N. Kosygin, noted in his report on the 8th Five Year Plan that:

The targets of the five-year plan were not set at random. They are based...on a scientific analysis of the objective trends and needs of socio-economic development in the contemporary stage.

There is no room, and cannot be any, for subjectivism in the choice of the ways in which these tasks are to be implemented, and in setting their proportions.²

The reason for this new emphasis on correct, scientific methodology stemmed from the vital role specified for the social sciences at the Congress. Thus, in his report to the Party Congress, General Secretary Brezhnev

¹ Editorial, "The Effective Force of the Leninist Principles of Party Leadership," Kommunist, No. 16, p. 4 (November 1974); Zagladin, op. cit.

² A. N. Kosygin, Report on the Directives for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1966-1970, in 23rd Congress of the CPSU, p. 271 (Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1966).

underlined the vital tasks of Soviet social sciences in serving Soviet policy and in directing research efforts toward priority interests of the leadership. Brezhnev was explicit in his demand that:

The most important task of Soviet scientists is to solve important problems in economics and politics, philosophy, sociology, history, law and other social sciences in close relation to the practice of communist construction.... . The development of social sciences and the practical application of conclusions thus reached is of no less importance than using achievements in natural sciences for material production and for the development of the nation's spiritual life.¹

As a result of directives set forth at the 23rd Congress, the Central Committee passed a resolution on 14 August 1967, entitled "On Measures for Further Development of the Social Sciences and Heightening Their Role in Communist Construction."² Particular stress was placed upon the lack of social science planning and coordination in the USSR Academy of Sciences, as well as in other Soviet research institutes:

The state of scientific information in areas of the social sciences seriously lags behind present-day requirements. The scientific establishments of the USSR Academy of Sciences are not sufficiently equipped to the necessary extent with modern means. The humanities institutes and faculties unjustifiably duplicate one another in a number of cases or confine themselves to a range of petty themes, which leads to dispersion

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, 29 March 1966, in *Ibid.*, p. 145.

² The resolution is published verbatim in KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsii i plenumov TsK (The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums) Vol. IX, pp. 342-357 (Moscow, Politizdat, 1972).

of scientific forces and hampers bold scientific quests. The development of the social sciences is negatively affected too by the fact that fruitful discussions are conducted but rarely in a number of scientific institutions and that criticism and self-criticism are developed insufficiently.¹

The resolution also specified certain tasks which would improve work in the philosophical, economic, historical and other sciences and directed Party organizations at all levels, including those in the USSR Academy of Sciences, "to adopt effective measures" to carry out the Central Committee resolution.²

A major shortcoming of Soviet social science, the resolution noted, was the failure to "give a deep and objective analysis of the actual processes of social life," thereby hindering the "correct appraisal of the historical experience and prospects of development" of Soviet society.³ The role of the social sciences in the competition between systems, furthermore, was unambiguously explained in the Central Committee directive:

It is only through the guidance of Marxism-Leninism that one can correctly solve the theoretical and practical problems advanced by the course of world events and the revolutionary movement at the present stage. Intensification of creative work in the sphere of theory is imperative to strengthen the political, economic and cultural cooperation of the socialist countries and determine the most effective ways and means to secure the victory of socialism over capitalism.⁴

These themes, expressed at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU and elaborated upon in the 1967 Central Committee resolution, were repeated by Brezhnev at

¹ Ibid., pp. 346-347.

Ibid., p. 348.

Ibid., p. 345.

Ibid., p. 343

the 24th CPSU Congress in 1971. In his discussion of Soviet scientific work, the General Secretary stated:

The social sciences also face important tasks. In the period under review [1966-71] the CC CPSU adopted a special extended resolution on this question. The tasks of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and of the Academy of Social Sciences under the CC CPSU have been enlarged and specified. In recent years a number of new humanitarian science institutes have been opened in the system of the Academy of Sciences and this has made it possible to intensify the study of problems related to the socio-economic development of the USSR and foreign countries and the world revolutionary process, and to improve scientific information. What we need is a more radical turn of the social sciences towards the elaboration of problems that are and will be pressing.¹

Indeed, in light of the holistic Soviet view of global phenomena and the need for complex, integrated strategies in pursuit of national objectives, it is not surprising that Moscow regards the work of its social scientists as of paramount importance in the present era. Because social science is viewed by the Soviet leadership as fundamental to Soviet victory in the global competition, the institutes which conduct social science research operate as instruments for this struggle.

D. Soviet Research Institutes as Instruments of Strategy

In order to insure that Soviet social science institutes will provide assessments commensurate with policy requirements, the Soviet leadership has attempted to establish coordination and mutual support between research institutes from various sectors of the state and party apparatus. Although the August 1967 Central Committee resolution dealt primarily with the social science institutes in the Academy of Sciences, their collaboration with research components of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and pedagogical establishments was indicated as an essential task.

* L. I. Brezhnev. Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 24th Congress of the CPSU, 30 March 1971, in Following Lenin's Course, p. 421 (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1972).

Thus it is not uncommon for a book to be published jointly by the Institute of Philosophy (Academy of Sciences) and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (Central Committee) or for personnel to transfer between institutes of different sectors (such as the Academy and the Ministry of Defense). These occurrences are neither surprising nor haphazard, since the Communist Party leadership oversees all areas of Soviet society and determines institutional and personnel mobility and collaboration, in accordance with policy requisites. The Deputy Head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee stated in this connection that

...the CPSU Central Committee guides the party apparatus, the party scientific institutions, the collectives of the scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the higher educational institutions of the country toward a profound study of topical problems of world development and, above all, of the development of the world revolutionary process.¹

Furthermore, leading persons in the institutes of the various sectors not only move among the sectors throughout their careers (see Chapter III) but also maintain multiple affiliations while at a particular institute. At present, the Directors of the Academy of Social Sciences and of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism (both under the Central Committee) and the Chief of the Institute of Military History (Ministry of Defense) all are associated with the USSR Academy of Sciences, as corresponding members. Similarly, those persons in the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences with greatest responsibility for overseeing social science work (Academics P. N. Fedoseyev and A. M. Rumyantsev) are full members of the CP_U Central Committee. Integration of functions and responsibilities across sectors in the social sciences is a Party requirement, in order to insure the existence of a research apparatus directed towards a unified goal, that is, strategies for the building of communism in the USSR and the successful resolution of the global competition between systems.

¹ Zagladin, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

Research institutes such as the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Philosophy are responsible for the elaboration and adaptation of Marxist-Leninist theory within the context of "the results of the analysis of new contemporary phenomena":¹

The 24th Congress confirmed the previous conclusion reached by the CPSU Central Committee to the effect that in our epoch it would be erroneous to consider the development of imperialism only as a result of the effect of its own internal laws.... It means that the possibilities of the socialist world actively to influence imperialist policy are growing. This also means that socialism has a growing responsibility for the utilization of these possibilities.²

The social science institutes, as instruments for socialist struggle, therefore provide the Party leadership with "a developed analysis"³ of opportunities and vulnerabilities in the capitalist and developing worlds, which can be exploited by Soviet policy for optimal gain. At the same time, other research is directed towards the assessing of Soviet capabilities and the course of Soviet social and economic development. The result is a multidisciplinary and multidimensional input for the design and execution of Soviet strategies.

¹ Ibid., p. 26.

² Ibid., p. 22.

³ Suslov, op. cit., p. 26.

II HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF SOVIET RESEARCH INSTITUTES WITH GREATEST FOREIGN POLICY IMPACT

In evaluating the role of the Soviet research institutes in the Soviet policy process, it is necessary to examine their institutional position within the Soviet Party/state hierarchy. Although the study of the interactions between institutes from all Soviet sectors would be beneficial, the present study is concerned primarily with the research institutes subsumed under the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium (see Figure II-1). This emphasis stems in part from the unavailability of specific organizational and functional data on Party and ministry research institutes. Moreover, SRI-SSC's informal relationship with several Soviet social science institutes under the Academy of Sciences provided a unique opportunity for generating data about their personnel, organization and activities.

The Section of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences Presidium, of which P. N. Fedoseyev is Chairman, is comprised of Departments of History, Philosophy and Law, Economics, and Literature and Languages. Most social science institutes in the Academy are directly subordinate to these departments, yet some are organized directly under the section (the Institutes of Sociological Research, of the International Workers' Movement, and of Scientific Information in the Social Sciences). Although formal institutional relationships, as depicted in Figure II-1, indicate an unambiguous chain of command from the CPSU Central Committee to the USSR Council of Ministers to the Academy of Sciences, the operational command structure is less formalized and is rather fluid and complex. While Fedoseyev is nominal overseer of social science functions in the Academy of Sciences, his power probably derives more from his CPSU Central Committee membership than from his role in the Academy. Furthermore, several directors of the various institutes most likely answer directly to individual Politburo or Secretariat members, as will be discussed in the following chapter.

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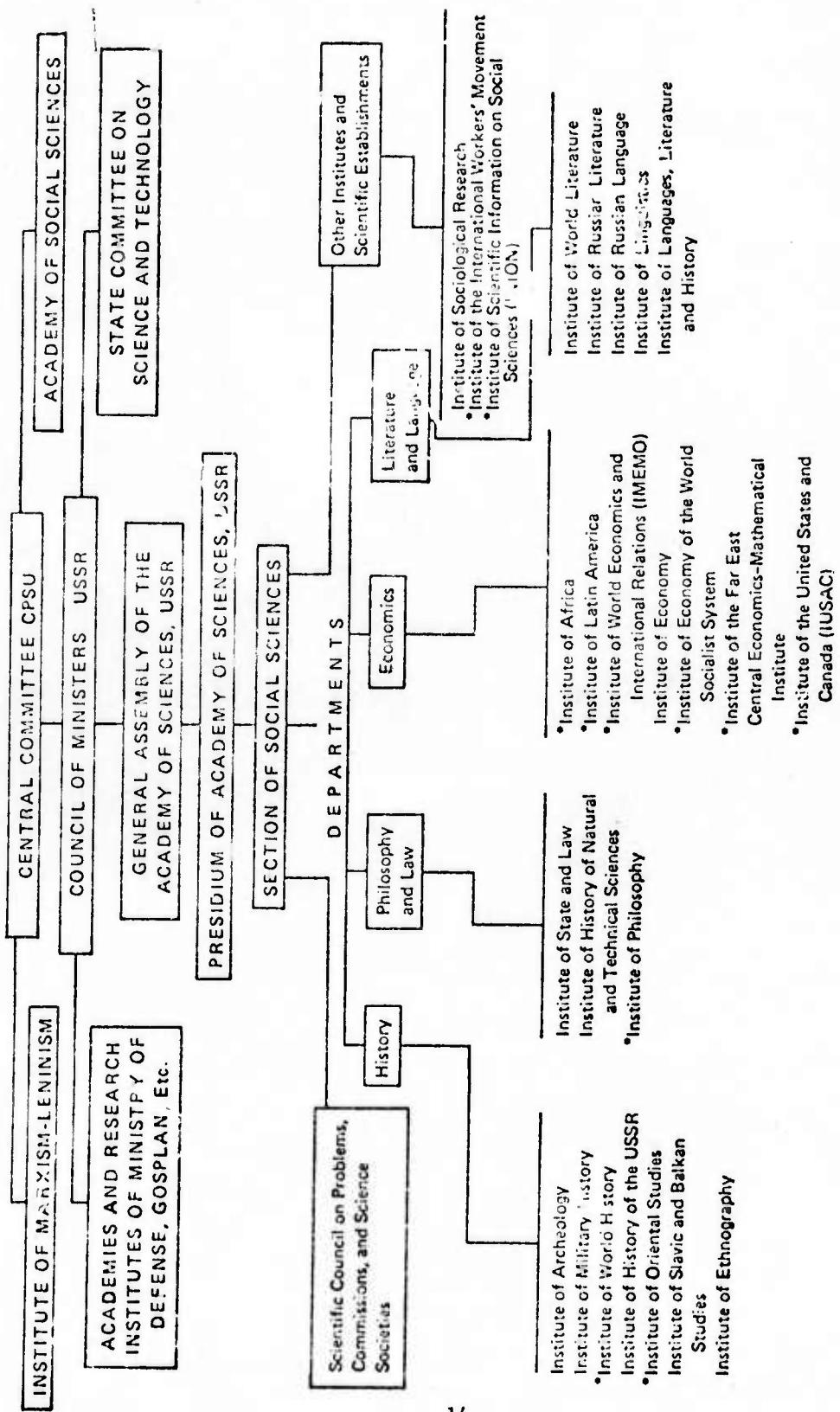


Figure II-1 THE SOCIAL SCIENCES SECTION OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

* Institutes examined in this study.

It appears that a good portion of the work conducted by the institutes of the Social Sciences Section is planned and coordinated within the context of so-called Scientific Councils on Complex Problems, which integrate the work of several institutes in order to yield a multidisciplinary output on a given problem. These scientific councils, by virtue of their unique organizational form, may consider a wide range of scientific problems whose solution demands an approach and resources not provided by the traditional hierarchic organization of Soviet scientific disciplines. The role of these "complex councils" is to "analyze the existing state of research work; to help determine the lines along which it should move; to coordinate research work in their respective fields; to examine the most convenient organizational forms for research throughout the country; to arbitrate conflicts; to indicate means for executing research projects; and to set research targets within the academy system."¹ Despite the fact that these groups rarely have a permanent staff and service is largely "voluntary," their recommendations are said to have "decisive" influence on the Presidium, departments and institutes of the Academy of Sciences USSR. The broad scope and often critically important nature of their "complex problem" tends to draw the councils into higher levels of decisionmaking, and enables the scientists to help formulate and implement policy at the national level.²

In 1962 the Scientific Council on the Complex Problem "Economic Competition of the Two Systems" was organized, with Academician and Central Committee member A. M. Rumyantsev as its chairman. According to a journal of the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the function of this particular council is:

...to plan the subjects of studies in the given sphere
by all the scientific institutions of the country, to

¹ Sarah White, ed., Guide to Science and Technology in the USSR, pp. 22-23 (New York, Francis Hodgson Publishers, Inc. 1971)

² Ibid.

unite the efforts of researchers and specialists working on problems of the economic competition of the two systems and to promote the timely application in practice of the achieved results.¹

In addition to coordinating the relevant work of institutes of the Academy of Sciences--including the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, the Institute of the USA and Canada, and the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System--the Council receives input from the State Committee for Science and Technology of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, Moscow State University, and various other establishments.² It is evident that the Scientific Council on "Economic Competition of the Two Systems" is the principal scientific council dealing with political-economic problems, by virtue of the topic's wide range and the chairman's position in the CPSU hierarchy. Presumably many of the books and articles, as well as other activities, of the participating institutes even in other contexts are generated by the Council, and are commensurate with Central Committee policy requisites.

The scientific council on the "Complex Problem of Economic Competition of the Two Systems" together with the scientific council on the "Complex Problem of Working Class and Democratic Mass Movements in Capitalist Countries in Conditions of the Contemporary Scientific-Technological Revolution" publish an annual serial: Sorevnovaniye Dvukh Sistem (Competition of the Two Systems). Among the editorial board are included the following individuals:

A. M. Rumyantsev: Full Member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Member of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences USSR, and Chairman of the Scientific Council on the Economic Competition of the Two Systems. Rumyantsev is Chairman of the Editorial Board of Sorevnovaniye Dvukh Sistem.

¹ I. Farizov, "Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the Integrated Study of the Problem 'Economic Competition of the Two Systems,'" Social Sciences, No. 4, p. 212 (1974).

² This Scientific Council publishes a yearbook entitled Sorevnovaniye Dvukh Sistem (Competition of the Two Systems), Moscow, "Nauka," which shows the scope of both subject matter and institutional cooperation.

G. A. Arbatov: Director of IUSAC, Academician and Chairman of the Scientific Council on the USA: economic, political, and ideological problems.

N. N. Incsemtsev: Director of IMEMO, candidate member of the Central Committee, CPSU, academician.

B. G. Gafurov: Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies

V. G. Solodovnikov: Director of the Institute of African Studies

T. T. Timofeyev: Director IMRD, Institute of the World Workers Movement

D. M. Gvishiani: Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology USSR

Another Scientific Council was set up at the end of 1973, dealing with "Socio-Economic and Ideological Problems of the Scientific and Technological Revolution" and chaired by D. M. Gvishiani, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Deputy Director of the State Committee for Science and Technology. Vice Chairmen include the directors of several institutes of the Academy of Sciences, some of whom serve on other scientific councils: B. Kedrov (Institute of Philosophy), M. Rutkevich (Institute of Sociological Research), and N. Fedorenko (Central Mathematical Economics Institute). Although much of the effort of this Scientific Council is directed toward analyzing the impact of science and technology upon Soviet society, there are specific tasks in foreign policy areas. For instance, the Council conducts research on:

The special features of the scientific and technological revolution in the socialist, developing and capitalist countries; the influence of the scientific and technological revolution on the struggle between the two systems, the scientific and technological revolution and the international working-class movement.¹

¹ R. Khasbulatov, "New Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences," Social Sciences, No. 1, p. 221 (1974).

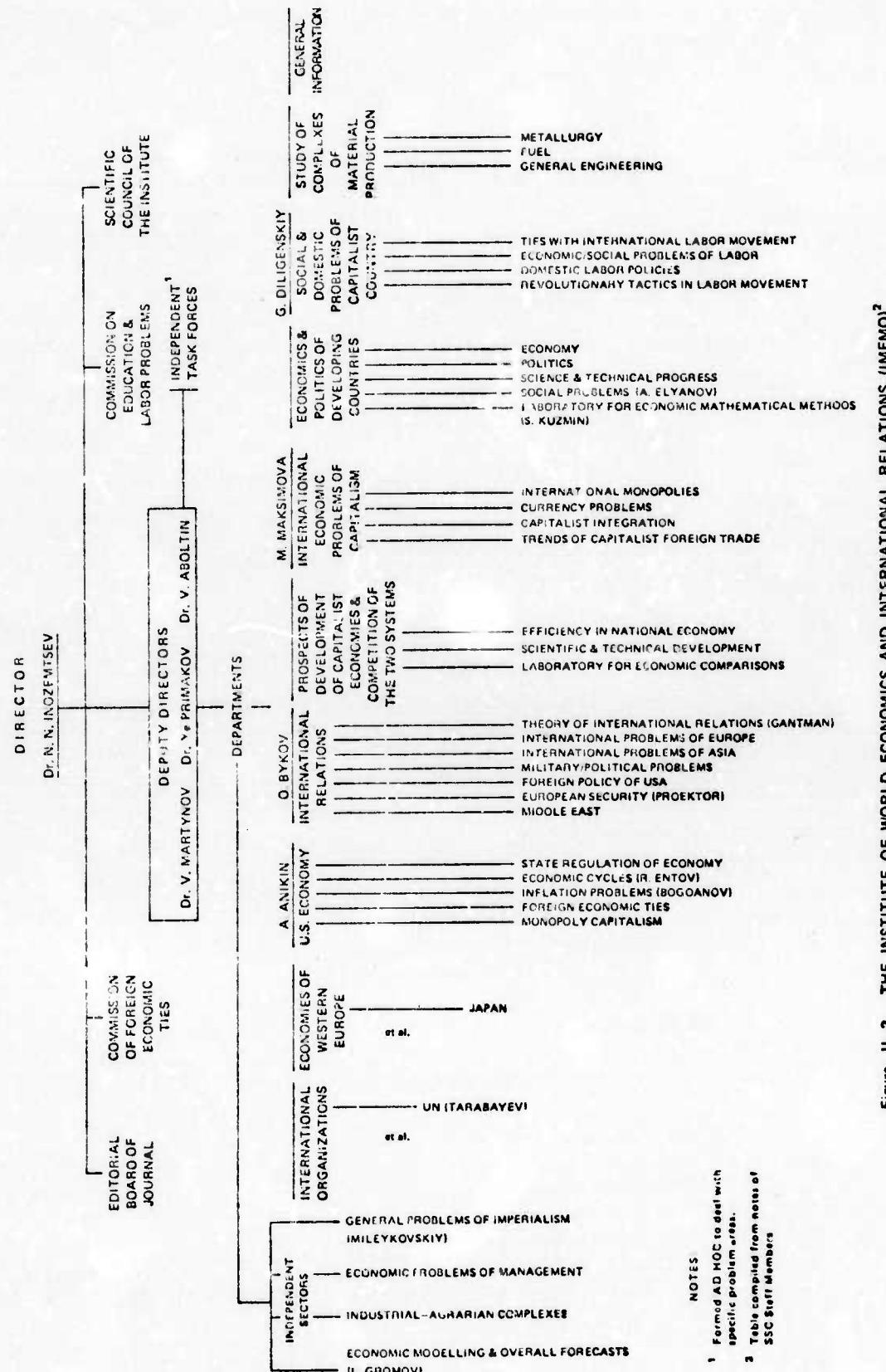
In addition to these are Scientific Councils on "U.S. Economic, Political and Ideological Problems," "Concrete Social Research," "Problems of Foreign Ideological Trends," and on other complex problems. Understanding the role of the Scientific Councils offers some insight into the management of Soviet social science research by revealing certain aspects of the informal chain of command from the Central Committee and the State Committee for Science and Technology, down to the individual research institutes. At this point it is useful to describe the institutes themselves, in order to demonstrate their assigned tasks, areas of differentiation, and general output. The study focuses upon those institutes in the Academy's Social Sciences Section which primarily conduct research applicable to foreign policy.

A. Institutes of the Department of Economics

1. Institute of World Economics and International Relations (IMEMO)

The Institute of World Economics and International Relations, referred to by its Russian acronym, IMEMO, was founded in 1956 and is assigned a broad range of topics (see Figure II-2). The Director of IMEMO is Academician N. N. Inozemtsev, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, and Candidate Member of the CPSU Central Committee. The Institute regularly publishes two major works: its monthly journal, World Economics and International Relations (MEiMO), since 1957, and the International Political-Economic Annual, since 1958.

The Institute is the successor to the Institute of World Economy and World Politics (directed from 1936 until 1947 by Ye. Varga), which was formed in the 1920s under the Communist Academy, forerunner of the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences. From 1941 until 1946, work in this field was conducted in a division of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics, and in 1956 IMEMO was organized as a separate institute by a decree of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The

Figure II-2 THE INSTITUTE OF WORLD ECONOMICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (IMEKO)²

decree was generated by the fundamental changes in Soviet strategy which occurred at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, and stated that:

Under the conditions [the coexistence and economic competition of] the socialist and capitalist world system the greatest importance attaches to the task of making a thorough study of the economic processes, the characteristics of domestic and foreign policy and the class struggle in the capitalist countries.¹

Thematically and geographically IMEMO has broad research responsibilities, and in many areas the Institute's work overlaps with that of the regional institutes (such as the Institute of Africa, IUSAC, and the Institute of the Far East). The study of Europe, of the capitalist world in general, and of the characteristics and trends in the national liberation movement are assigned principally to IMEMO. More specifically, the Institute's scope of research includes:²

- Forecasting the development of the economy, science-technology, and internal social processes in the capitalist countries and the capitalist system as a whole.
- Forecasting possible changes in the international situation over the long term.
- The conflicts and developmental trends of contemporary capitalism.
- New developments in international relations and the struggle to prevent a world war.
- The socio-political processes in bourgeois society and the role of democratic and communist movements in the developed capitalist countries.

¹ USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium Decree, quoted in N. N. Inozemtsev, "The Scientific Activity of A. A. Arzumanyan and the Urgent Tasks of Research in World Economics and International Relations," Mirovaya Ekonomika i Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniya (World Economics and International Relations--hereafter cited as MEIMO), No. 5, p. 119 (May 1974).

² "Institutes of the Department of Economics of the Academy of Sciences, USSR," Ekonomika i Organizatsiya Promyshlennogo Proizvodstva (Economics and Organization of Industrial Production) (Novosibirsk), No. 2 (1975), translated in JPRS: Translations on USSR Economic Affairs, No. 701, p. 24 (5 August 1975).

- The national liberation movement and the developmental processes in the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.
- The contemporary ideological struggle.

In addition, IMEMO has assumed a special role during the current period of increased economic relations between the USSR and the West, as have certain other research institutes. According to the Institute's Director, Inozemtsev,

We intend to expand our analysis of the new trends in the development of international trade, the investment processes, international credit and currency relations, the activities of international monopolies and the integration processes. Increasingly great importance attaches to investigation of the problems of international economic cooperation and particularly the problems pertaining to enhancement of the effectiveness of foreign economic relations between the USSR and the capitalist countries.

Of special interest to IMEMO in the past few years have been the causes and consequences of the West's energy crisis, a phenomenon which, in the words of Inozemtsev,

... has clearly demonstrated that the developed capitalist countries are dependent upon the raw materials of the developing countries to a far greater extent than they had thought. This is a vast field for important research.²

It is apparent that such research is conducted in direct support of Soviet strategic interests, in order to identify the systemic vulnerabilities in the West and assess the opportunities for Soviet policy. While articles concerning the energy crisis and other facets of the so-called "crisis of capitalism" are abundant in the Institute's own journal, MEiMO, personnel

¹ Inozemtsev, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

² Ibid., p. 128.

from the Institute frequently author articles on these and other topics which appear in authoritative party and government organs, such as Pravda, Izvestiya and Kommunist.¹

It is likely that IMEMO is regarded by the Soviet leadership as the leading research institute in the international affairs field, not only because of its global scope, but also by virtue of the fact that its Director, Inozemtsev, holds the highest CPSU position (Candidate Member of the CC CPSU) of any institute director in the international field. Furthermore, many of the institutes with regional focus were outgrowths of IMEMO, and the directors of these institutes formerly held responsible positions in IMEMO (Arbatov of IUSAC, Solodovnikov of the Institute of Africa, and Vol'skiy of the Institute of Latin America, for example). In addition, Inozemtsev and the Institute as a whole have been granted chief scientific responsibility for the work of the previously mentioned Scientific Council on "Economic Competition of the two Systems."²

Several important works have been published by IMEMO, including a collection of monographs in 1966 entitled "The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class," with B. N. Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee Secretary and now candidate Politburo member, as editor-in-chief. Many at IMEMO have also published books and monographs. In 1972 two major works appeared, Military Power and International Relations and International Conflicts,³ the latter prepared jointly with IJSAC. Both of these books

¹ See, for example, R. Andreasyan, "Petroleum and the Anti-Imperialist Struggle," Kommunist, No. 5, pp. 100-110 (March 1974); N. N. Inozemtsev, "Capitalism in the 70s: Sharpening of Contradictions," Pravda (20 August 1974); N. N. Inozemtsev, "On the Nature of Contradictions in Our Era," Problemy Mira i Sotsializma (Problems of Peace and Socialism), No. 9, pp. 35-41 (September 1973).

² Farizov, op. cit.

³ V. V. Zhurkin and Ye. M. Primakov, eds., Mezhdunarodnyye Konflikti, Moscow, "International Relations" Publishers, 1972. The editors are deputy directors of IJSAC and IMEMO, respectively.

are concerned with political-military problems in the East-West relationship and demonstrate that Soviet scholars are well acquainted with Western publications. Economic Aspects of Capitalist Integration, by Inozemtsev's wife, Dr. M. Maksimova,¹ was published in English in 1973, under the auspices of the Institute.

Like all institutes in the Academy of Sciences, IMEMO offers postgraduate courses and receives dissertations for candidate and doctoral degrees in historical sciences and economic sciences. The dissertation, as well as course, topics essentially parallel the range of IMEMO's interests, as previously discussed.

2. Institute of the USA and Canada (IUSAC)

The Institute of the USA was organized in 1968; in October 1974, the Institute was charged additionally with study of Canada, and the name was changed accordingly. Academician G. A. Arbatov, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, and Member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, has been Director since the Institute's inception.

In January 1970, IUSAC began publication of its monthly journal, SShA: Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya (USA: Economics, Politics, Ideology), in which appear articles dealing with every aspect of U.S. (and more recently Canadian) domestic developments and foreign relations. In addition, articles and books from the U.S. press (such as Herbert York's Race to Oblivion and Theodore White's The Making of the President: 1972) have been translated into Russian and serialized in the journal.

¹ M. Maksimova, Economic Aspects of Capitalist Integration, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1973. The Russian version, Osnovnyye Problemy Kapitalisticheskoy Integratsii, was first published in 1971.

The general research tasks assigned to the Institute include the following:¹

- Comprehensive study of current problems of American capitalism and the scientific-technological revolution.
- The socioeconomic processes occurring in the United States, and U.S. ideological trends.
- U.S. foreign and domestic policies.
- Soviet-American relations.
- Contemporary Canadian policies and economy.

IUSAC is composed of seven main divisions (see Figure II-3), most of which are organized into functional subsectors. Although there is some overlap between the Institute's research responsibilities and the U.S. studies conducted in IMEMO, the fact that personnel from one institute often write articles in the other's journal, as well as the differences in overall scope of the two institutes, suggests that the work of IMEMO and IUSAC is for the most part complementary rather than conflicting. While competition between any two institutes in a common area is unavoidable, it is probable that CPSU Central Committee demands for purposeful, applicable research would mitigate both redundancy and rivalry, to whatever extent possible. Moreover, as will be discussed in Chapter IV, each institute director often provides inputs for a particular patron in the Party hierarchy; this tends to reduce the likelihood that, for instance, Inozemtsev and Arbatov will be competing for one leader's acceptance of an input on a common issue.

Like IMEMO, IUSAC has assumed a major role in providing the Soviet leadership with systemic assessments for conducting the peaceful coexistence relationship with the United States, since the May 1972 Summit. It appears, furthermore, that the Soviet leadership's perception at the end of the 1960s of an emergent superpower role for the Soviet

¹ "Institutes of the Department of Economics of the Academy of Sciences, USSR," op. cit.; "The Institute of the USA of the Academy of Sciences, USSR," Voprosy Ekonomiki (Questions of Economics), No. 1, pp. 157-158, (1971).

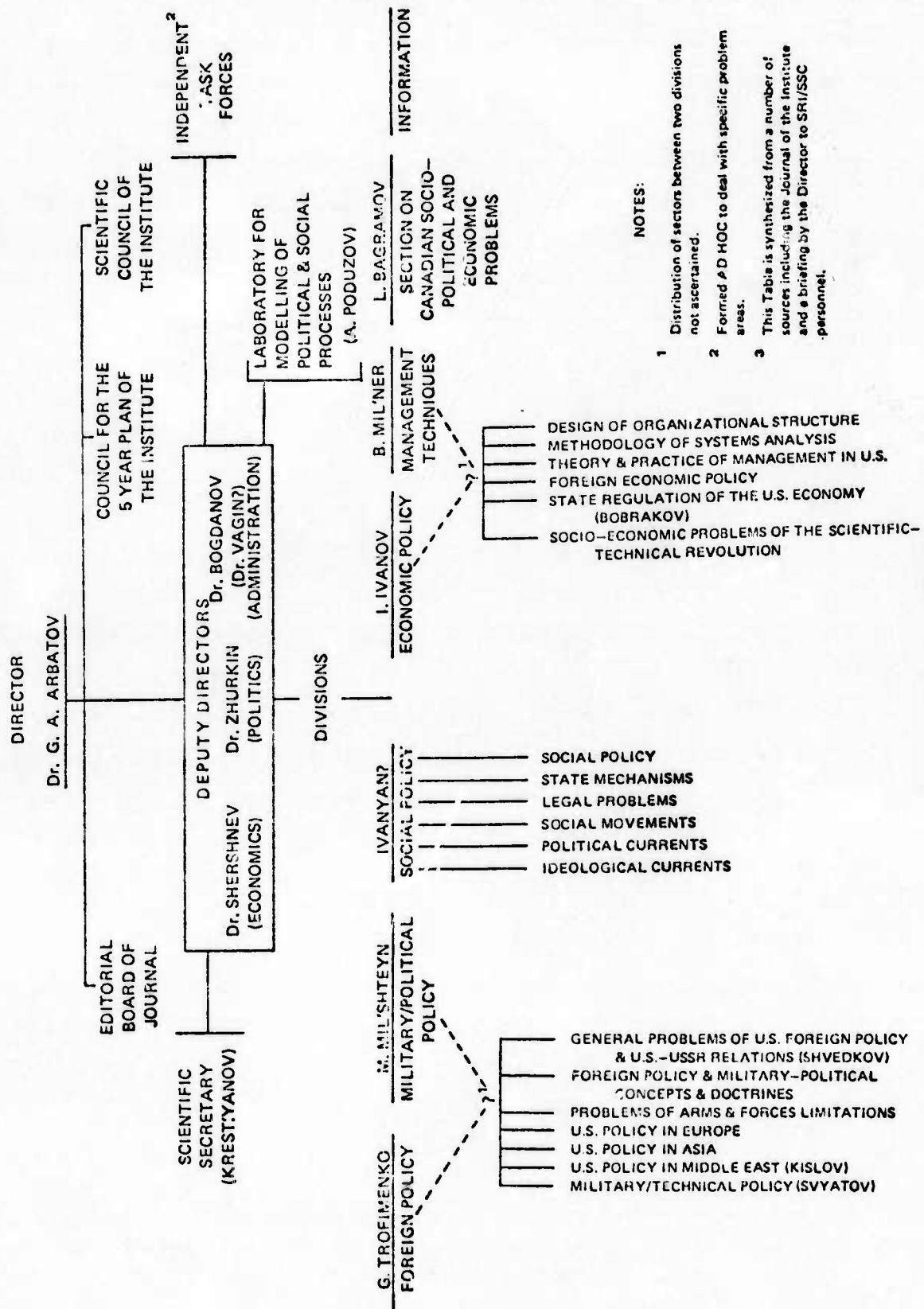


Figure II-3 THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF THE USA AND CANADA (IUSAC)³

Union, in accordance with perceived shifts in the correlation of world forces, generated the decision to establish a separate institute for study of the United States, in anticipation of a new U.S.-Soviet relationship. Both D. M. Gvishiani and V. V. Zagladin sat on the editorial board of the Institute's journal during the first few years of its existence, presumably to insure that the new institute was directed toward the proper Party/state objectives. In addition, Colonel V. V. Larionov, who was composing editor of all three editions of the authoritative Military Strategy, became a section head in IUSAC in its early days; in 1973 Larionov left the Institute and returned to the Defense Ministry's General Staff.¹ The introduction of such individuals as Zagladin, Gvishiani and Larionov into the workings of an institute indicates the degree of importance the Soviet leadership attaches to the role of the institute and to the interdisciplinary approach within the social sciences.

The Institute of the USA and Canada has paid much attention to the U.S. promulgation of the "Nixon Doctrine," first with a colloquium report published in the Institute's journal in February 1971 and then with publication of a major book in 1972.² Since its inception, IUSAC has published 25 books,³ among which is counted a "fundamental work" by its Director, entitled The Ideological Struggle in Contemporary International Relations.⁴ Most of the Institute's books concentrate upon specific aspects of the United States, including USA: Tariff Protectionism (by Ye. S. Shershnev); USA: The Foreign Policy Mechanism (edited by Yu. A. Shvedkov);

¹ For a discussion of the military's role in the social science institutes, see the "Editor's Introduction" in Soviet Military Strategy (Third Edition), edited and analyzed by Harriet Fast Scott (New York, Crane, Russak and Company, 1975), especially pages xxii-xxiv.

² Yu. P. Davydov, V. V. Zhurkin and V. S. Rudnev, eds., Doktrina Niksona, Moscow, "Nauka," (1972).

³ For a discussion of the activities and publications of IUSAC, see V. A. Fedorovich, "The Institute of the USA of the USSR Academy of Sciences," SShA: Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya, No. 5, pp. 12-16 (May 1974).

⁴ An English-language version is available: G. A. Arbatov, The War of Ideas in Contemporary International Relations (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1973).

USA and International Political Crises (by V. V. Zhurkin); USA: The Problems of Domestic Policy (edited by V. S. Zorin); and The Military-Industrial Complex and U.S. Foreign Policy (by V. M. Mil'shteyn), the most recent book to come out of IUSAC

Several colloquia have been conducted by IUSAC, in addition to the one in late 1970 dealing with the "Nixon Doctrine." In May 1971 IUSAC and IMEMO jointly held a conference of Americanologists to discuss "The USA in the 70s." Other IUSAC meetings have focused upon the themes "Militarism and the U.S. Economy," "The Leninist Theory of Imperialism and Contemporary America," and "The 50th Anniversary of the Soviet State and the Leninist Nationalities Policy."

The Institute offers postgraduate courses in General History (History of the USA), History of International Relations and Foreign Policy, World Economics and Economic Relations, and Economies of Capitalist Countries (Economy of the USA), and grants advanced degrees. Because of the nature of the Institute's work, many of its scholars travel to the United States and often deliver papers at such schools as Princeton, Harvard, and MIT.¹

3. Institute of Africa

The Institute of Africa was founded in 1959. Its current Director, V. G. Solodovnikov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Doctor of Economic Sciences, formerly was a Deputy Director of IMEMO. Jointly with the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Institute of Africa publishes two journals, the monthly Aziya i Afrika Segodnya (Asia and Africa Today) and the bimonthly Narody Azii i Afriki (The Peoples of Asia and Africa). In addition, the Institute of Africa publishes its own annual, entitled Africa in Soviet Research.

¹ Fedorovich, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

The USSR Academy of Sciences considers the principal research tasks¹ of the Institute of Africa to be "complex study of"

- The economic and sociopolitical development of African nations.
- The noncapitalist path of development.
- Soviet-African relations.
- The policy and ideology of noncolonialism and Maoism, as they apply to Africa.
- The history and current trends of the national liberation movement in Africa.
- Arab studies.

The Africa Institute publishes 15 to 20 books per year, and a general history of the continent (Contemporary History of Africa) was published in 1968. Other major books include Solodovnikov's Africa Chooses Her Path of Development (1970) and numerous collective works: Africa 1961-1965 (1967), The Anti-Imperialist Revolution in Africa (1967), Ideological Trends in Tropical Africa (1969), and Africa in International Relations (1971). In addition to these general works are numerous books dealing with individual African countries and regions.

The Institute has sponsored a number of conferences on the economic, political and social problems of Africa, and much of its work is coordinated within the context of a Scientific Council on African Problems, which was established in 1966 with Solodovnikov as chairman.

During the period 1967 to 1972, 28 dissertations for candidate and doctoral degrees are known to have been defended. The curriculum of the Institute encompasses the general themes "The Economics of Developing Countries," "General History," and "History of International Relations and Foreign Policy."

¹ See "Institutes of the Department of Economics of the Academy of Sciences, USSR," op. cit.; Yu. Kashin, "The African Institute," Social Sciences, No. 3, pp. 226-227 (1971).

4. Institute of Latin America (ILA)

The Institute of Latin America was founded in 1961; its Director is V. V. Vol'skiy, Doctor of Economic Sciences. Since the end of 1969 the ILA has published a bimonthly journal, Latinskaya Amerika (Latin America).

The ILA is charged with "comprehensive study of contemporary Latin America and the problems of economic, social, political and cultural development of the nations of that region."¹ The following breakdown of specific research tasks of the Institute is organized according to the various sectors into which the ILA is divided:²

- Economic sectors, which study the different aspects of the economic process in the Latin American countries, their economic structures, level of the productive forces and their specific features, agrarian problems, etc;
- Sector of social and political problems, which studies the continent's social structure and political system, the class struggle, and also the problems of the anti-imperialist liberation and revolutionary movement in that part of the world;
- Sector of foreign policy and international relations, which studies the main trends in the foreign policy of the Latin American countries, their place and role in foreign affairs, analyses the development of relations between Latin America and the USSR;
- Cultural sector, which studies new developments in the cultural life of the peoples, the struggle of the progressive forces for an advanced culture. The sector also concerns itself with problems of education and enlightenment;
- Cuban sector, which concerns itself with generalising the experience of the revolution and the building of socialism in Cuba, analyses the specific features of the Cuban revolution, its influence on the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries of Latin America.

¹ "Institutes of the Department of Economics of the Academy of Sciences, USSR," op. cit.

² P. Boiko, "The Institute of Latin America," Social Sciences, No. 3, p. 228 (1971).

The ILA publishes approximately 10 books per year, and two major reference books were produced by the Institute in 1965: The Political Parties of Latin America and The Economy of Latin America. While numerous works on individual Latin American countries (particularly Cuba and Chile)¹ have been published by the ILA, several books cover selected aspects of the entire region, including A. Shulgovskiy's Latin America: The Army and the Liberation Movement (1972), V. Vol'skiy's Population Problems and the Socio-Economic Development of the Latin American Countries (1971), and the collective work Lerinism and Latin America (1971).

An indication of the educational activities of this Institute can be gained from examining the topics of the Candidate of Sciences dissertations defended in 1967-72. Twenty-one of them, four in the field of Economics and 17 in History, cover such problems of separate nations in Latin America as agrarian relations, trade, U.S. "imperialism," the working class, and the peasant's role in the revolutionary process. Like IUSAC, the Institute of Latin America maintains quite a number of contacts with areas outside the Soviet Union, and its researchers participate in international conferences, correspond with other scientists, exchange written matter, and conduct joint research.²

5. Institute of the Far East (IDV)

The Institute of the Far East (Institut Dal'nego Vostoka--IDV) was established in 1966. Since its founding, the IDV has been directed by M. I. Sladkovskiy, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor. The Institute publishes two quarterly journals, Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka (Problems of the Far East)

¹ Iosif Grigulevich, "Latin American Studies," Social Sciences, No. 2, pp. 192-194 (1975).

² Boiko, op. cit., p. 230.

since 1972, and Far Eastern Affairs since 1974. The articles in the latter journal, which is published in English and Japanese, closely parallel those which appear in the Russian language Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka.

Although the IDV is in theory responsible for studying the entire Far East, most of its work focuses upon the People's Republic of China. Presumably because of the sensitivity of the Sino-Soviet relationship, data on the organization and functions of the Institute are virtually unavailable in the open literature, as opposed to the wealth of information provided by Soviet sources concerning the other social science institutes of the Academy of Sciences. Therefore, the present discussion of IDV relies almost entirely upon an inferential analysis of the Institute's journals and available bibliographical sources.¹

The IDV studies problems from political, economic, ideological, historical and cultural perspectives, and presumably works closely with IMEMO (particularly on Japan) and the Institute of Oriental Studies. In addition, the Institute has organized several scientific conferences and symposia, which have generated books on the following topics: The Nationalistic Policy of the Mao Tse-tung Group and the USA, Problems of Forecasting Social-Economic Development of Chinese Society, Problems of the Industrial Development of China, Social-Economic Aspects of the Problems of the Chinese Population, and Characteristics of the Social-Economic System of China and the Social-Economic Views of Mao Tse-tung. Other books which have been published by the IDV include China and Japan, by Director Sladkovskiy, and a collective work, The Foreign Policy of the Chinese People's Republic.

¹ See, for example, Academician Ye. M. Zhukov, "Far Eastern Studies in the USSR Academy of Sciences," Far Eastern Affairs, No. 2, pp. 18-19 (1974), and V. S. Myasnikov, "The History of Sinology in Russia and the USSR," in *ibid.*, pp. 43-46.

6. Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System (IEMSS)

The Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System, referred to by its Russian abbreviation, IEMSS, was founded in 1961. Since 1963, the Institute has been directed by O. T. Bogomolov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Economic Sciences and Professor. The IEMSS publishes a yearbook entitled National Economy of Socialist Countries; in addition, Bogomolov is Chief Editor of the bi-monthly journal Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR, Seriya Ekonomicheskaya (News of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Economic Series).

The IEMSS is charged with "comprehensive study of economic, political and ideological problems in the development of world socialism and individual socialist nations," as well as research in the following areas:¹

- General patterns of development of socialist society.
- The revolutionary influence of the world socialist system on the process of world history.
- Development of the theory of international socialist division of labor and socialist economic integration.
- The forms and methods of economic cooperation among socialist nations and between socialist and non-socialist states.
- Criticism of bourgeois, revisionist and reformist views on the development of the socialist nations and their interrelations.

In 1964, the Institute assisted GOSPLAN in making a forecast of the economic development of 14 socialist countries for the period 1966-70.²

¹ "Institutes of the Department of Economics of the Academy of Sciences USSR," op. cit., pp. 23-24.

² The current Director of IEMSS, O. T. Bogomolov, served as head of the Sector of Scientific Research in the Economic Institute of GOSPLAN from 1958 until 1962. Presumably, GOSPLAN and IEMSS always have maintained close working relations.

Also in 1964, work at the Institute focused upon the preparation of a four-volume work on The Economy of the World Socialist System, which was published in 1966. The Institute publishes many collective works, often in conjunction with other institutes and establishments, as well as monographs.

The IEMSS conducts an academic program and grants candidate and doctoral degrees in both historical and economic sciences. The curriculum is geared towards the following specialties: History of the Workers' and Communist Movements, History of International Relations and Foreign Policy, World Economics and International Economic Relations, The Economies of Socialist Countries Abroad, The Economies of Developing Countries, and The Theory of Scientific Communism.

B. Institutes of the Department of History

7. Institute of Oriental Studies (IV)

The Institute of Oriental Studies--in Russian, Institut Vostokovedeniya, or IV--was established in April 1930 in Leningrad and was transferred to Moscow in 1950; a Leningrad branch still exists. Until 1968, the IV was known as the Institute of the Peoples of Asia. The Director of the Institute since 1956 has been B. G. Gafurov, Academician and Doctor of Historical Sciences. The Institute of the Far East publishes, jointly with the Institute of Africa, two journals: Aziya i Afrika Segodnya and Narody Azii i Afriki (known as Soviet Oriental Studies from 1955 until 1958).

The IV is mainly concerned with study of the Eastern countries outside the Soviet Union. However, in the words of the Director, "the USSR is one of the largest countries of Europe and Asia, so there can be no clear understanding of the peoples of the Asian continent as a whole without understanding the past and present of the Soviet Eastern republics."¹

¹ B. G. Gafurov, "The Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences: Research Into the History and Culture of the Soviet East," Social Sciences, No. 2, p. 260 (1973).

Consequently, the Department of the Soviet East was created within the Institute to "conduct integrated research" on the peoples of Soviet Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and Transcaucasia.¹ In addition to Asia, the IV studies North Africa.

While much of the work of the Institute is devoted to historical research, extensive monographs have been published on a wide range of subjects, such as archeology, ethnography, linguistics and literature, as well as current phenomena. Using a Marxist approach, members of the Institute investigate economic and historic-cultural links and mutual influences of Eastern nations, and conduct comprehensive studies of regional and global trends. A major work, R. A. Ul'yanovskiy's Sotsializm i Osvobodivshiesya Strany (Socialism and the Countries Undergoing Liberation), was published by the IV in 1972. Although the book provides historical background, its main thrust is the current stage of the national liberation movement, including analysis of agrarian, economic and social issues in various Third-World countries. Numerous studies have focused upon individual countries and regions of Asia and North Africa, and the Institute publishes nearly 150 books and monographs per year. About one-third of these represent dissertations written to satisfy requirements for advanced degrees.

The Institute of Oriental Studies, in addition to the Institute of the Far East, conducts research on the Chinese People's Republic;² the IV published in 1972 a Modern History of China. Although the IDV and the IV are subordinated under different departments of the Social Science Section of the Academy--the economics and history departments, respectively--it is difficult to differentiate their specific tasks and disciplines in many cases. Moreover, some of the members of the editorial boards of the

¹ Ibid.

² K. Malakhovsky, "History of Oriental Countries," Social Sciences, No. 2 p. 176 (1975).

Far East Institute's journals are members of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Likewise, research on Japan is conducted in the IV, the IDV and IMEMO; the IV published a book in 1973 entitled Japanese Monopoly Capital and Its Role in the System of Modern Capitalism. It is evident, therefore, that the study of Asia--China and Japan, in particular--is a priority concern of the Soviet leadership, and a number of institutes are equipped to examine this complex area. The Institute of Oriental Studies appears to have laid the groundwork in this endeavor, as the oldest of the Oriental institutes in the Academy of Sciences.¹

8. Institute of World History

In 1968 the Institute of History, which had been founded in 1936, was split into the Institute of World History and the Institute of History of the USSR. Since 1968, the Director of the Institute of World History has been Ye. M. Zhukov, Academician, Professor, and Doctor of Historical Sciences.

The Institute of World History is divided into four main departments, each of which is responsible for research in a specific field and each of which contains several subsections: the Department of Complex Problems of World History, headed by Director Zhukov; the Department of Modern and Contemporary History of the West European Countries, headed by Deputy Director of the Institute I. I. Zhigalov; the Department of Modern and Contemporary History of the Countries of America, which is divided into two sections (U.S./Canada and Latin America); and the Department of the History of Antiquity and the Middle Ages, which is divided into two sections (ancient history and the Middle Ages).²

¹ See S. L. Tikhvinskiy, "Japanology in the USSR," Far Eastern Affairs, No. 2, pp. 20-30 (1974).

² Z. S. Belousova, "On the Basic Directions of Scientific-Research Work of the Institute of World History," Novaya i Noveyshaya Istoriya (New and Contemporary History), No. 6, p. 165 (1969).

The journal of the Institute is the bimonthly Novaya i Noveyshaya Istoriya (Modern and Contemporary History). The journal covers "a wide range of subjects" and deals with Western, socialist and Third-World countries, principally from a historical perspective. Furthermore it carries articles concerning historiography, Russian-Soviet diplomatic history, and the Second World War.¹

The Institute has put out collections and monographs dealing with a variety of topics, and many of these books have been translated into English and distributed by Moscow's Progress Publishers: including Africa: Politics, Economy, Ideology (1972) by A. Iskenderov, a Deputy Director of the Institute, and The Third World: Problems and Prospects (1970), by Zhukov, Iskenderov and others. Recent Russian-language books include American Historiography on Soviet Society (B. I. Marushkin), History of the French Revolution and of Social Movements (V. M. Dalin), and Political Struggle of the U.S. Congress About American-Soviet Relations 1933-1939 (P. N. Smirnov), as well as histories of France, Germany, the United States, Italy and other countries.

The Institute of World History offers doctoral and candidate degrees in historical sciences, and the curriculum includes courses in History of the Middle Ages, History of the USA, History of Socialist Studies, and Theory of Social-Economic Formation.

C. Institutes of the Department of Philosophy and Law

9. Institute of Philosophy

1. Institute of Philosophy (in Russian, Institut Filosofii, or IF) was founded in 1937, under the old Communist Academy. The Director since 1973 has been B. M. Kedrov, Academician, Professor, and Doctor of

¹ A. Leontyev, "The Journal 'Novaya i Noveyshaya Istoriya' (Modern and Contemporary History), Social Sciences, No. 3, pp. 237-239 (1971).

Philosophical Sciences; Kedrov formerly was Director of the Institute of Natural History and Technology, also under the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The Institute has published a monthly journal, Voprosy Filosofii (Questions of Philosophy), since 1946, and the composition of the editorial board indicates a close relationship between the IF and the theoretical organs of the CPSU Central Committee. In addition to leading personnel in the Institute of Philosophy--such as Kedrov, G. E. Glezerman, F. V. Konstantinov, and T. I. Oyberman--V. G. Afanas'yez (Chief Editor of Kommunist) and M. T. Iovchuk (Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU) sit on the board. In addition, the latter was a section head in the IF several years ago. It should be noted that P. N. Fedoseyev, who is current head of social science research in the Academy of Sciences, was Director of the Institute of Philosophy from 1955 to 1962. The articles presented in Voprosy Filosofii deal principally with these themes: dialectical materialism, historical materialism, scientific communism, philosophical problems of science and technology, and modern foreign philosophy and sociology.

The Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences regards as the "main task" of the Institute of Philosophy "the further development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy on the basis of"¹

- investigation of processes of world social development,
- comprehensive study and generalization of the practical work in the building of communism,
- study of the experience of the revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement in the Third World, and

¹ "In the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences: Urgent Problems of Philosophical Research," Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR (Herald of the USSR Academy of Sciences), No. 3, p. 29 (March 1970).

- study of the contemporary stage of scientific and technical progress and of achievements of the social and natural sciences.

Particular stress is placed upon the responsibility for critiquing non-Marxist ideological trends, including "convergence" theories, Maoism, Trotskyism, and rightism. Of particular note are the books Counteracting Contemporary Bourgeois Falsifications of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy (M. T. Iovchuk, 1964); The Future Society (1969); and Problems of War and Peace (1972). The IF conducts its work on non-Marxist ideology in conjunction with the Scientific Council on Problems of Foreign Ideological Trends, which encompasses not only the IF but also the USSR Academy of Pedagogy and academies and institutes of the CC CPSU.¹

The Institute of Philosophy grants candidate and doctoral degrees in philosophical sciences.

D. Institutes of the Social Science Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium

10. Institute of the International Workers' Movement (IMRD)

The Institute of the International Workers' Movement--known by its Russian abbreviation IMRD--was organized under IMEMO in 1966 and became a separate institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1968. It has been directed by T. T. Timofeyev, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Professor, and Doctor of Historical Sciences, since 1966; in the period 1966 to 1968, Timofeyev concurrently held the position of Deputy Director of IMEMO.

¹ See Academician M. B. Mitin, et al., Sovremennyye Burzhuaznyye Teorii o Sliyanii Kapitalizma i Sotsializma (Kriticheskiy Analiz) (Contemporary Bourgeois Theories on the Convergence of Capitalism and Socialism [Critical Analysis]) (Moscow, "Nauka," 1970), which was published by the Scientific Council on Problems of Foreign Ideological Trends. Mitin is Chairman of the Council.

Given the proletarian internationalist basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and strategy, the IMRD covers a wide range of research topics on the problems, positions and struggle of the international working class "against monopoly capital."¹ The major subject areas comprise questions of: the economic position of the working class, the social consequences of the scientific-technological revolution, and the changes in structure and class composition of the proletariat.² Moreover, it is evident that a good portion of IMRD's work utilizes quantitative methodology, and the Institute has attempted scientific projection of the composition of the working class in various regions of the world to the year 2000.³

The IMRD is organized into several departments, each of which conducts research in a specific problem area: complex theoretical problems of the world revolutionary process; the workers' movement of the developed capitalist countries; socio-economic positions of the workers; international organizations; trade union movements; contemporary history and international problems of the workers' movement; scientific information; research on the theme "Automization and the Working Class"; workers' movements in the developing countries; and the working class in socialist countries abroad.⁴

Books published by the Institute include The International Significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution (1968), written in conjunction with two CPSU Central Committee establishments, the Academy of Social Sciences and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. In another IMRD book, The Working Class in the Struggle Against Imperialism for the Revolutionary Renovation of the World (1968), M. A. Suslov and B. N. Ponomarev

¹ The most complete description of IMRD appears in "The Activity of the IMRD," Sorevnovaniye Dvukh Sistem (Competition of the Two Systems), pp.452-457 (Moscow, "Nauka," 1970)

² Ibid., p. 452.

³ Ibid., p. 453.

⁴ Ibid., p. 452.

wrote the introduction and foreword, respectively. Most of the books from the Institute are multi-author works, and many represent the results of international scientific conferences of communist and workers' groups.

11. Institute of Scientific Information for the Social Sciences (INION)

The Institute of Scientific Information for the Social Sciences--known by its Russian acronym, INION--was founded in 1969, as a direct result of the August 1967 CPSU Central Committee decree on the social sciences. Its Director is V. A. Vinogradov, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The Institute primarily collects social science data and compiles bibliographies for the use of other social science institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the CPSU, the state, and the pedagogical establishments.

The major tasks assigned to INION are as follows:¹

- Acquisition and referencing of domestic and foreign materials relating to the social sciences.
- Preparation and publication of bibliographic and reference works, of scientific-analytical reviews of Soviet and foreign literature on pressing problems of the social sciences.
- Development of scientific links with scientific-information organizations abroad.

The Institute publishes two quarterly reference journals: Obshchestvennyye Nauki za Rubezhom (Social Sciences Abroad) and Obshchestvennyye Nauki v SSSR (Social Sciences in the USSR). The latter is

¹ "In the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences: On the Activity of INION," Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR, No. 2, p. 32 (February 1975); see also the interview with V. A. Vinogradov, "Information for All," Izvestiya (22 January 1975).

published in seven series--"Problems of Scientific Communism," "Economics," "Philosophical Sciences," "The State and Law," "History," "Linguistics," and "Literary Criticism"--each of which is disseminated as a discrete periodical. The reference journal Social Sciences Abroad is published in nine series--seven titles which correspond to those listed above in addition to "Oriental and African Studies" and "The Science of Science." INION also produces special ad hoc series, such as "Policy in the Sphere of Science of Some Capitalist Countries of Europe," "Methodological Problems of the Development of Science," "The History of the Three Russian Revolutions," "The History of the Second World War," and "The History of the International Workers' Movement." Furthermore, the Institute publishes 29 monthly bibliographical bulletins on social science books and articles published in the USSR and abroad.

Information about the organization and personnel of INION is unavailable, but the volume of the Institute's output would suggest that it is well staffed. The extent to which other research institutes provide bibliographic information to INION, as against in-house compilation at INION, is unknown.

III KEY PERSONNEL IN SOVIET SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

The Soviet leadership regards the Soviet social science establishment--which provides basic data and assessments, long-range analyses and specific recommendations for policy formulation--as an important element in the policy process. While the scholars who comprise the staffs of this network of research institutes are competent and well trained, the direct link with the Soviet Party-state political hierarchy is the director of the individual institute. The director himself often has well-established party connections and deals directly with key Central Committee and government units and persons, including Politburo members. His authority is backed by the power of cumulative expertise of his respective research institute.

In order to assure efficient use of academic resources and a greater control over the institutes studying problems in the realm of the social sciences, the Section of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences has been headed by a full member of the CPSU Central Committee, Academician P. N. Fedoseyev. Study plans of the institutes require Fedoseyev's approval, thus giving him a considerable degree of control over the directions of their research. In the Central Committee itself, administrative functions of the Academy are supervised by another Central Committee member, S. P. Trapeznikov, Chief of the Central Committee Department of Science and Educational Institutions. Both Fedoseyev and Trapeznikov review the institutes' budgetary requests before these are approved by the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences.

The role and influence of the Soviet research institutes are based largely on personalistic factors, such as key individuals' party positions, personnel associations, and career patterns. The short biographies of institute directors and other key Soviet social science personnel which are presented below offer insight into this network of personnel and

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institutional ties, by demonstrating the diversity of experience and roles of these figures. An analysis of these factors follows the biographies.

A. Biographies of Key Persons in Soviet Social Sciences¹

AFANAS'YEV, Viktor Grigor'yevich

Chief Editor of Pravda (1976). Chief Editor of Kommunist (1974). Corresponding Academician (1972). Doctor of Philosophical Sciences (1964). Professor (1965).

Born 1922. Joined CPSU 1943.

1940-1953--in Soviet Army; 1950--graduated from Chitinskiy Pedagogical Institute; 1960-1968--in Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU; 1968-1974--Deputy Chief Editor of Pravda; 1974--Chief Editor of Kommunist; 1976--Full Member CC CPSU.

Major Works: Scientific Communism (1969); Scientific Control for Society (1974).

ARBATOV, Georgiy Arkad'yevich

Director of the Institute of the USA and Canada (IUSAC), USSR Academy of Sciences (1967). Academician (1974). Doctor of Historical Sciences. Professor.

Born 1923. Joined CPSU 1943.

1941-1944--in Soviet Army; 1949--graduated from Moscow Institute of International Relations; 1949-1960--in editorial work (Foreign Literature Publishers; journals Questions of Philosophy, New Times, Kommunist); 1960-1962--

¹ The data for these biographies were extracted from the following sources: Deputaty Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR: 8-oy Sozyv (Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet: 8th Convocation), Moscow, "Izvestiya," 1970; Ezhegodnik Bol'shoy Sovetskoy Entsiklopedii (Yearbook of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia), Moscow, "Entsiklopediya," various years; Institute for the Study of the USSR (Munich), Prominent Personalities in the USSR, Metuchen, N. J., Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1968; "Full Members of the Academy of Sciences USSR (Department of Economics)," Ekonomika i Organizatsiya Promyshlennogo Proizvodstva (Economics and Organization of Industrial Production), No. 2, pp. 36-45 (1974); "Corresponding Members of the Academy of Sciences USSR (Department of Economics)," Ekonomika i Organizatsiya Promyshlennogo Proizvodstva, No. 3, pp. 59-67 (1974).

observer for journal Problems of Peace and Socialism in Prague; 1962-1964--head of a section in IMEMO; 1964-1967--in the CC CPSU apparatus; 1967--Director of IUSAC; 1970-1974--Corresponding Academician; 1971--member of CPSU Central Auditing Commission; 1973--Chairman of Scientific Council for Economic, Political and Ideological Problems of the USA; 1974--Deputy of USSR Supreme Soviet; 1974--Academician; 1976--Candidate Member CC CPSU.

Major Works: One of the authors of the basic theoretical text, Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism (1963); The Nixon Doctrine, co-author (1972); The Ideological Struggle in Contemporary International Relations (1970).

BOGOMOLOV, Oleg Timofeyevich

Director of the Institute of the Economics of the World Socialist System (IEMSS), USSR Academy of Sciences (1969). Corresponding Academician (1972). Doctor of Economic Sciences (1967). Professor (1969).

Born 1927. Joined CPSU 1950.

1949--finished Institute of Foreign Trade; 1950-1954--graduate student and instructor at Institute of Foreign Trade; 1954-1956--Senior Reviewer, CMEA Secretariat; 1956-1962--Senior Scientific Worker, Economic Institute of GOSPLAN USSR; 1958-1962--head of Sector of Scientific Research, Economic Institute of GOSPLAN USSR; 1962-1969--in CC CPSU apparatus; 1967--instructor and professor (1969) and head of a kafedra (subfaculty) at Moscow State University; 1969--Director of IEMSS; 1973--Chief Editor of Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR, Seriya Ekonomicheskaya.

Major Works: Problems of Theory and Methodology of the International Socialist Division of Labor (1966); Theory and Methodology of the International Socialist Division of Labor (1967); Economic Integration--Objective Requirement for the Development of World Socialism (1971).

FEDOSEYEV, Petr Nikolayevich

Chairman of Section of Social Sciences and Vice President (1962), USSR Academy of Sciences. Academician (1960). Doctor of Philosophical Sciences. Professor.

Born 1908. Joined CPSU 1939.

1930--graduated from Gorkiy Pedagogical Institute, completed postgraduate work at Moscow Institute of History

and Philosophy; 1941-1947--in CC CPSU apparatus; 1946-1949--Chief Editor of journal Bol'shevik (which became Kommunist) and head of chair, Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU; 1950-1954--inspector, CC CPSU; 1954-1955--Chief Editor of CC CPSU journal Partiynaya Zhizn' (Party Life); 1955-1962--Director of Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1959--member of Presidium, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1961--full member, CC CPSU; 1962--Deputy of USSR Supreme Soviet (has served in all convocations since); 1962-1967 and from 1971--Vice President of USSR Academy of Sciences; 1967-1974--Director of Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU; 1971--served on Commission for Preparation of 24th CPSU Congress Resolutions; 1972--Chairman of Section of Social Sciences, USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium.

Major Works: Historical Materialism, the Science of the Laws of the Development of Society (1945); Socialism and Patriotism (1954); Production Resources and Industrial Relations (1955); Communism and Philosophy (1963); dialectics of the Present Era (1965).

GAFUROV, Bobodzhan Gafurovich

Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences (1956). Academician (1968). Doctor of Historical Sciences (1953).

Born 1908. Joined CPSU 1932.

1928--graduated from Samarkand Law School; 1929-1932--department head and then assistant editor of newspaper Krasnyy Tadzhikistan; 1935--graduated from Moscow All-Union School of Journalists; 1935--deputy editor, then editor of newspaper above; 1936-1940--worked up to Department Head of Central Committee, Tadzhik Communist Party (CC TCP); 1941-1944--Secretary, CC TCP; 1944-1946--Second Secretary, CC TCP; 1946-1956--First Secretary, CC TCP; 1956--Director of Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1952-1961--full member, CC CPSU; 1958--Corresponding Academician; 1968--Academician.

Major Works: History of the Tadzhik People (1953); V. I. Lenin and the National Liberation Movement in the Countries of the East, editor (1970); The History of the Iranian State and Culture, editor (1971).

GVISHIANI, Dzhermen Mikhaylovich

Deputy Chairman, State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Council of Ministers (1965). Corresponding Academician (1970). Doctor of Philosophical Sciences (1969).

Born 1928. Joined CPSU 1951.

1951--graduated from Moscow Institute of International Relations; 1951-1955--in Soviet Navy; 1955-1956--in State Committee for New Technology, USSR Council of Ministers; 1957-1961--in State Scientific-Technical Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers; 1962-1965--in State Committee for the Coordination of Scientific Research Work of the USSR; 1965--Deputy Chairman, State Committee for Science and Technology of the USSR Council of Ministers; since 1969--simultaneously head of a laboratory of the Institute of Concrete Social Research (now Institute of Sociological Research), USSR Academy of Sciences; 1970--Corresponding Academician.

Major Works: Basic Principles and General Problems of the Management of Science, editor (1973); The Scientific-Technical Revolution and the Change in Structure of the Scientific Cadres of the USSR, editor (1973); Problems of the Scientific Organization of Management for Socialist Industry, editor (1974); Management for Socialist Industrial Units and Enterprises, editor (1974).

INOZEMTSEV, Nikolay Nikolayevich

Director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations (IMEMO), USSR Academy of Sciences (1966). Academician (1968). Doctor of Historical Sciences. Professor.

Born 1921. Joined CPSU 1943.

1939-1945--in Soviet Army; 1949--graduated from Moscow Institute of International Relations; 1949-1952--post-graduate student, same Institute; 1952-1955--consultant for Kommunist; 1955-1957--instructor at Peking Diplomatic Institute; 1957-1959--Head of a sector, IMEMO; 1959-1961--Deputy Director, IMEMO; 1961-1966--Deputy Chief Editor of Pravda; 1966--Director of IMEMO; 1964-1968--Corresponding Academician; 1968--Academician. CC CPSU; 1974--Deputy of USSR Supreme Soviet.

Major Works: American Imperialism and the German Question (1945-1954) (1954); U.S. Foreign Policy in the Epoch of Imperialism (1960); International Relations After the Second World War, chief editor (1962-1965); Problems of the Economics and Politics of Contemporary Imperialism (1969); The Political Economy of Contemporary Monopoly Capitalism, editor (1970); Contemporary Capitalism: New Phenomena and Contradictions (1972).

IOVCHUK, Mikhail Trifonovich

Rector, Academy of Social Sciences, CC CPSU (1970). Corresponding Academician (1946). Doctor of Philosophical Sciences. Professor.

Born 1908. Joined CPSU 1926.

1931--graduated from Academy of Communist Education im. N. K. Krupskaya; 1936-1938--editorial work, and at the same time head of kafedra of dialectical materialism at Moscow Chemical-Technological Institute im. D. I. Mendeleyev; 1939-1941--responsible work in the Executive Committee of the Comintern; 1941-1947--in the apparatus of the CC CPSU; 1947-1949--Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia; 1946--Corresponding Academician; 1949-1957--worked in various institutes (Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU, Ural State Institute, Moscow State University); 1957-1970--head of a sector in the Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences and at the same time Chief Editor of journal Filosofskiye Nauki (Philosophical Sciences); 1970--Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU; 1971--candidate member of CC CPSU.

Major Works: A Short Outline History of Philosophy (1960); The History of Philosophy as a Science, Its Object, Method and Significance (1960); The Creative Solution by the CPSU of the Philosophical Problems of Scientific Communism (1961); Leninism and the Philosophical Problems of Today, editor (1970).

KEDROV, Bonifatiy Mikhaylovich

Director of the Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences (1973); Academician (1966). Doctor of Philosophical Sciences. Professor.

Born 1903. Joined CPSU 1918.

1930--graduated from Chemistry Faculty of Khar'kov University; 1931-1932--student at Institute of the Red Professor; 1932-1935--postgraduate student; 1935-1937--in apparatus of CC CPSU; 1938-1941--in scientific work; 1941-1945--in Soviet Army; 1946-1959--Professor in the Academy of Social Sciences; 1949-1952--scientific editor of the Large Soviet Encyclopedia; 1959-1962--in the Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1960--Corresponding Academician; 1962-1973--Director of the

Institute of the History of Natural Science and Technology, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1966--Academician; 1973--Director of the Institute of Philosophy, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Major Works: The Evolution of the Concept of the Element in Chemistry (1956); Philosophy as a General Science (1962); The Link Between Two Levels of Perception (1962); The Unity of Dialectics, Logic and the Theory of Knowledge (1963); The Scientific-Technological Revolution and Socialism, editor (1973).

KIRILLIN, Vladimir Alekseyevich

Chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Council of Minister (1965). Deputy Chairman, USSR Council of Ministers . . . Academician (1962). Doctor of Technical Sciences. Professor.

Born 1913. Joined CPSU 1937.

1936--graduated from Moscow Energetics Institute (MEI); 1938-1941--taught at MEI; 1941-1943--in Soviet Army; 1943-1954--at MEI and in CPSU and scientific work; 1954-1955--Deputy Minister of Higher Education, USSR; 1955--Deputy Chairman of State Committee for New Technology, USSR Council of Ministers; 1955-1963--in apparatus of CC CPSU; 1962--Academician; 1963-1965--Vice President of USSR Academy of Sciences; 1965--Deputy Chairman of USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of State Committee for Science and Technology; 1956-1961--member of CPSU Central Auditing Commission; 1951-1966--candidate member of CC CPSU; 1966--full member of CC CPSU; since 1962--Deputy of USSR Supreme Soviet.

SLADKOVSKIY, Mikhail Iosifovich

Director of the Institute of the Far East, USSR Academy of Sciences (1966). Corresponding Academician (1972). Doctor of Economic Sciences (1959). Professor (1961).

Born 1906. Joined CPSU 1928.

1930--graduated from the Far Eastern University; 1943-1961--Chief of Oriental Directorate and member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade; 1961-1965--Trade Representative of the USSR in China; 1965-1966--deputy department head in the CC CPSU; 1966-Director of the Institute of the Far East, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1972--Corresponding Academician.

Major Works: Essays on the Development of Foreign Economic Relations of China (1953); Essays on the Economic Relations of the USSR with China (1957); China and Japan (1971).

SOLODOVNIKOV, Vasiliy Grigor'yevich

Director of the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences (1964). Corresponding Academician (1966).

Born 1918. Joined CPSU 1942.

1942--graduated from Kuybyshev Industrial Institute; 1946--graduated from All-Union Academy of Foreign Trade; 1946-1949--in USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade; 1949-1961--in institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences; 1958-1961--Deputy Director, IMEMO; 1961-1964--director of a department in the UN Secretariat, and then Deputy Permanent Representative of the USSR at the UN; 1964--Director of the Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1966--Corresponding Academician.

TIMOFEYEV, Timur Timofeyevich

Director of the Institute of the International Workers' Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences (1966). Doctor of Historical Sciences (1965). Professor.

Born 1928. Joined CPSU 1950.

1950--graduated from Moscow State University; 1950-1956--in the Committee of Broadcasting; 1956-1966--in IMEMO; 1961-1966--Deputy Director, IMEMO and member of editorial board of MEiMO; 1966--Director, Institute of the International Workers' Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1966--Corresponding Academician.

Major Works: The International Revolutionary Movement of the Working Class, co-author (1964); American Imperialism and the Communist Movement (1966); The Proletariat Against the Monopolies (1967); The International Workers' Movement and Problems of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle (1968); The Working Class Is the Leading Revolutionary Force, co-author and editor (1973); The Main Revolutionary Force, co-author (1973).

VINOKRADOV, Vladimir Alekseyevich

Director of the Institute of Scientific Information for the Social Sciences (INION), USSR Academy of Sciences (1972). Corresponding Academician (1966). Doctor of Economic Sciences.

Born 1921.¹

1960-1971--Deputy Chief Scientific Secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences; 1966--Corresponding Academician; 1971-1972--Deputy Academic Secretary of the Economic Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences; 1972--Director of INION, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Major Works: Socialist Collectivization of Means of Production and Industry in the USSR (1917-1918) (1955); Questions of Theory and Practice of Socialist Nationalization of Industry (1965); Leninist Ideas of Workers' Control in Action (1969); Government Property and the Antimonopolist Struggle in the Countries of Developed Capitalism, co-author and editor (1973).

YEGOROV, Anatoliy Grigor'yevich

Director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU (1974). Corresponding Academician (1962). Doctor of Philosophical Sciences.

Born 1920. Joined CPSU 1944.

1941--graduated from Moscow Pedagogical Institute im. K. Liebknecht; 1942-1946--in Soviet Army; 1946-1948--on teaching staff at Vladivostok Pedagogical Institute; 1948-1951--postgraduate studies; 1952-1956--Deputy Editor and Department Editor, Kommunist; 1956-1961--Editor of journal Politicheskove Samoobrazovaniye (Political Self-Education); 1961--member of CPSU Central Auditing Commission; 1961-1965--in apparatus of CC CPSU; 1963-1965--Deputy Head of Ideological Department of CC CPSU, then Deputy Head of Department of Agitation and Propaganda of CC CPSU; 1962--Corresponding Academician; 1965-1974--Chief Editor of Kommunist; 1966--candidate member of CC CPSU; Director of Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC CPSU; 1976--Full Member of the CC CPSU.

¹ Available biographical sources do not indicate Vinogradov's party and educational background.

Major Works: Art and Social Life (1959); Fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist Esthetics (1961); On the Reactionary Essence of Contemporary Bourgeois Esthetics (1961); Art and Society, co-author (1968).

ZAGLADIN, Vadim Valentinovich

Deputy Head of the International Department of the CC CPSU (1967). Candidate of Historical Sciences.

Born 1927. Joined CPSU 1955.

1949--graduated from Moscow Institute of International Relations; 1952--postgraduate studies at same Institute; 1952-1954--Instructor, then Senior Instructor at same Institute; 1954-1960--editorial work on journal Novoye Vremya (New Times); 1961-1964--editorial work on journal Problemy Mira i Sotsializma (Problems of Peace and Socialism) in Prague; 1964-1967--in apparatus of CC CPSU; 1967--Deputy Head of International Department of CC CPSU; 1970-1973--on editorial board of journal SShA: Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya of IUSAC; 1971--member of CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

Major Work: The International Communist Movement: Sketch of Strategy and Tactics, editor and co-author (1972).

ZHILIN, Lieutenant General Pavel Andreyevich

Head of the Institute of Military History, USSR Ministry of Defense (1966). Corresponding Academician (1968). Doctor of Historical Sciences (1956). Professor (1961).

Born 1913. Joined CPSU 1942.

1946--graduated from Frunze Military Academy; 1947-1958--scientific worker; 1958-1964--Deputy Chief Editor of Voyenno-Istoricheskiy Zhurnal (Military-Historical Journal); 1961-1966--head of kafedra and pro-rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU; 1966--Head of the Institute of Military History, USSR Ministry of Defense; 1968--Corresponding Academician.

Major Works: Rout of the Turkish Army in 1811 (1952); Counteroffensive of the Russian Army in 1812 (1953); How Fascist Germany Prepared to Attack the Soviet Union (1965); Rout of Napoleon's Army in Russia (1968); The Second World War and Today, editor and co-author (1972).

ZHUKOV, Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich

Director of the Institute of World History, USSR Academy of Sciences (1968). Academician (1958). Doctor of Historical Sciences (1940). Professor (1944).

Born 1907. Joined CPSU 1941.

1927--graduated from Oriental Institute, Leningrad; 1933-1937--worked in CC CPSU apparatus as specialist on Japan; 1936--candidate of Historical Sciences; 1939-1942--Institute of History, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1942-1943--Deputy Chairman, Radio Committee for Foreign Broadcasting; 1943-1950--Director of the Pacific Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1946-1966--Head of kafedra at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CC CPSU; 1946--Corresponding Academician; 1950-1953--Deputy Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1953-1957--Deputy Director, Institute of History, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1957-1971--Academic Secretary of Department of History, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1958--Academician; 1967-1968--Deputy Chairman, Social Sciences Section, USSR Academy of Sciences; 1968--Director of the Institute of World History, USSR Academy of Sciences.

Major Works: An Outline on the History of the East in the Era of Imperialism (1934); History of Japan (1939); International Relations in the Far East, co-author and editor (1956); The Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Countries--A Great Force (1958); The Great Triumph of the Ideas of Leninism (1960); The Third World: Problems and Prospects, co-author (1970); Problems of the National Liberation Movement (1970).

B. Personal Acquisition of Influence and Power

An analysis of the preceding data indicates that a general pattern of personal career development is prevalent among those who comprise the Soviet social science hierarchy. While their respective areas of specialization are different, almost all of the individuals under study share common career experiences and attributes in varying combinations, prior to the attainment of their present positions:

- Graduation from a prestigious university or institute within the USSR and subsequent postgraduate studies,

culminating in attainment of an advanced degree (e.g., doctoral).

- Membership in the CPSU, sometimes augmented by subsequent entry into the Central Auditing Commission or Central Committee of the Party.
- Service in the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, either in a Central Committee department or on the staff of a CC CPSU publication (e.g., Pravda, Kommunist, Problemy Mira i Sotsializma, Partiynaya Zhizn'), or both.¹
- Affiliation with a social science institute (especially the Academy of Social Sciences or the Institute of Marxism-Leninism) of the CC CPSU.
- Work in one or more institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, usually as a sector or department head, or as deputy director.
- Extensive authorship or editorship of books and articles.

It is evident that one who experiences this generalized pattern of career attributes would, along the way, acquire (1) expertise and recognition in a given discipline; (2) personal associations with those in the Party hierarchy; and (3) a knowledge of the political and administrative workings of the Soviet system. The acquisition of all three apparently is a necessary condition for one's elevation to the position of institute director, as the data indicate, for a director must concurrently perform academic, political and administrative tasks.

Given the Soviet leadership's requirements that the social sciences serve the policy process and adhere to the principles of scientific socialism, these factors in the directors' backgrounds would minimize the possibility of research tending towards "subjectivism" and "voluntarism."

¹ Service in the ranks of the Central Committee apparatus does not entail entry into the Central Committee itself. As a general rule, those who attain full or candidate CC CPSU status already will have been elevated out of the apparatus into leading positions in the Party, state, military or academic sectors.

Additional experiences, such as institute directors' travels outside the Soviet Union and the tenure of some of them in the governmental and party bureaucracy, would likewise result in more realistic approaches than those which often are expected from academia. The discernible patterns of vertical career mobility in the Soviet social sciences may provide clues as to which individuals currently in middle-level positions will likely become institute directors during the next decade. Moreover, select incumbent directors--most notably Inozemtsev and Yegorov, candidate and full members of the CC CPSU respectively--possibly are destined for high CPSU positions, either in the Secretariat or in roles similar to Fedoseyev's.

As was mentioned previously, only directors of the research institutes can be regarded as full participants in policymaking processes in Central Committee departments. The directors, in addition, have varying degrees of access to the top Party leaders. While academics below the level of director may have significant personal connections in the Central Committee apparatus or be invited to contribute their expertise to specific studies and discussions, thereby reinforcing their respective institutes' roles, unlike the director their "home" is not the CC CPSU but the institute itself. Apparently, the strength of a director depends on his entire past career and on the multiplicity of links he had forged with high Party and government officials. Although an exclusive connection with a Central Committee Secretary or Politburo member can be beneficial in the short run, it would seem that unless a director expanded his personal base of operations he might be defeating his own personal and institutional interests in the longer term. Presumably, an institute director is constantly aware of the shifting power trends and is capable of maneuvering prudently through the system.

Some institute directors seem to be linked personally with individuals in the Party hierarchy: in particular, Inozemtsev with Zagladin and Ponomarev of the CC CPSU International Department; Arbatov with Brezhnev and the latter's

chief assistant, Aleksandrov; and Sladkovskiy with CC CPSU Secretary K. F. Katushev.¹ In all probability, however, these are not exclusive ties and may, in fact, reflect (1) a leader's admiration for the academic expertise of a particular director and (2) a leader's interest in the work of an institute which parallels his own tasks in the hierarchy. For instance, it is expected that Ponomarev would find Inozemtsev and IMEMO to be the most useful for the functioning of the CC CPSU's International Department. Personal identifications should not be ignored, nor should they be overstated. The fact that no institute director in the past few decades--according to available evidence--has been removed in disgrace reinforces this assumption, given the number of Party leaders who have been ousted, along with their followers.

Furthermore, the directors of the social science institutes presumably have a professional community of interest in protecting not only the relative independence and integrity of their respective institutes, but also the social science establishment as a whole, from intrusion by the Party hierarchs. As authorities in their academic areas, as well as in political gamesmanship, the directors can attempt to convince the top leaders of what specifically should be researched, within the general bounds established by the Party's policy line.

The background data on Soviet social scientists below the level of institute director² indicate that career diversification and thus the

¹ These linkages are derived from the personal observations of a variety of SRI/SSC staff members and consultants, who have had direct contact with knowledgeable Soviet officials.

² Biographical data on scholars below the rank of director are very limited except in cases where the individual is an Academician or was at one time in a position in the Party, state or military where the publication of a biography was warranted. In some cases, a short sketch of an author's career is provided in a book or journal; or his institutional affiliation is provided in a work which predates his entry into the research institute, enabling a rudimentary picture of career mobility to be drawn. Despite these shortcomings, it is useful to infer from the available data career typologies and career channels.

creation of informal networks of personal and institutional interrelations are characteristic of this group also. Many of the scholars are graduates of the elite Moscow Institute of International Relations, which trains diplomats, journalists, political scientists, historians and intelligence specialists, and which conducts relatively sophisticated research into methodological problems of the social sciences.¹ An individual who has attended an elite institution such as the Moscow Institute of International Relations not only attains prestige and expertise, but also acquires personal contacts which can help determine the course of his career in subsequent years. A significant number of individuals enter the research institutes after careers in the military, journalism and the ministries, and often they return to these sectors after having benefited from tenure at the research institute. There are also those who are placed in institutes by Party organizations or the KGB, to perform certain specialized nonacademic functions, and while these individuals often have nominal academic credentials, it is believed that their primary responsibilities are to the parent organization outside the institute. Those affiliated with the KGB presumably handle clearances, approve requests by scientists to travel abroad, and brief and debrief institute personnel, especially those who travel and have foreign contacts.

The role of former military officers is particularly significant in IMEMO and IUSAC, where some department and sector heads in both institutes have military origins (such as Naval Captain G. I. Svyatov, Army Colonel G. A. Trofimenko and Army Lieutenant General M. A. Mil'shteyn in IUSAC, and Army Colonel D. M. Proektor in IMEMO). Other prominent military figures who have been in these research institutes are Larionov, who was discussed previously, and Colonel V. M. Kulish, formerly head of both the International Relations Division and the Section on Military Problems and Strategy, in IMEMO. In addition, retired Colonel L. S. Semeyko is a senior researcher.

¹ I. Bestuzhev-Lada and D. Yermolenko, "The Scientific Forecast of International Relations in the Light of Lenin's Teaching," International Affairs, Nos. 2-3, p. 95 (February-March 1970).

and Colonel General N. A. Lomov, editor of a major book on Soviet military doctrine--Scientific-Technical Progress and the Revolution in Military Affairs (1973)--is a consultant, at IUSAC. Several other military writers, most of whom hold candidate or doctoral degrees in philosophical sciences, work closely with the Institute of Philosophy and the research institutes of the Central Committee; among them are Colonel V. M. Bondarenko, Lieutenant Colonel D. A. Volkogonov and Colonel T. R. Kondratkov.¹ Not surprisingly, retired military men who are affiliated with the civilian research institutes tend to write primarily on political-military affairs, including foreign and domestic military doctrines, alliance systems, arms control and disarmament, and general questions of military aspects of foreign policy. Not only is their military expertise valuable to the institutes, but these men often maintain their contacts with the Ministry of Defense--by teaching at military academies, writing for the military press, or even, as in the case of Larionov, by returning to the General Staff--and benefit the Ministry with the academic and travel experience acquired at the institute. While an active duty military officer is severely restricted in his travels to non-socialist countries, one who is affiliated with a research institute and who has academic credentials is regarded as a scholar and commands the privileges of the latter.

An important career channel in the Soviet social sciences is nepotism; while the legatees are for the most part well educated, well traveled and presumably competent, the importance of this connection in achievement of these attributes and in obtaining employment in the research institutes cannot be ignored. Among those presently or formerly in the institutes who are related to members of the Party hierarchy are L. Gvishiari of IUSAC and D. Gvishiani of the State Committee for Science and Technology (daughter and son-in-law, respectively, of A. N. Kosygin), Anatoliy Gromyko of IUSAC (son of Andrei Gromyko), and Igor Andropov of IUSAC (son of Yuri Andropov). S. Mikoyan, son of former Politburo member Anastas Mikoyan, is on the staff of the Institute of Latin America, and V. Zagladin's wife, S. Zagladina,

¹ All three were contributors to the Ministry of Defense's Marxism-Leninism on War and the Army (1968).

is with IUSAC. Inozemtsev's wife, M. Maksimova, is a department head at IMEMO, and her son, S. Medvedkov, who is Inozemtsev's stepson, is associated with IUSAC. Arbatov's son, Aleksey, is currently at IMEMO, and V. M. Kulish's daughter, T. Kulisha, is at IUSAC. In addition, the author of a book published in 1975¹ was a V. M. Mil'shteyn, probably the son of M. A. Mil'shteyn of IUSAC; the fact that the book came out of International Relations Publishers suggests that the author is either at IMEMO or IUSAC. While these family connections are considerably useful for one's educational and career development, they entail the risks inherent in exclusive relationships: Khrushchev's son-in-law, Aleksey Adzhubey, was a prominent member of the Soviet journalistic community until the former's ouster in 1964 caused Adzhubey's career to come to an abrupt and premature halt. Until a social scientist can establish his own credibility and independence, however, nepotism provides an expedient, if not totally secure, means for achieving mobility in the Soviet system.

Soviet social scientists on the staffs of the research institutes obtain recognition and maintain visibility by having articles published not only in their own and other institutes' journals, but in a wide variety of publications outside the academic community. While the institute directors frequently publish in leading journals and newspapers, it is not uncommon for a researcher's article to appear in Pravda, Izvestiya, Krasnaya Zvezda, International Affairs, or Kommunist. These publications enhance the prestige of both the individual and the research institute, and at the same time demonstrate to the Soviet leadership that an institute is conducting work which is applicable outside of academia.

The majority of Soviet researchers, it appears, tend to stay with their institutes for long periods, often making permanent careers there.

¹ V. M. Mil'shteyn, The Military-Industrial Complex and U.S. Foreign Policy, Moscow, International Relations Publishers, 1975, reviewed by G. A. Trofimenko in SShA: Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya, No. 8, pp. 103-104 (August 1975).

While they might be assigned to Soviet embassies or to the United Nations in order to augment their language ability, contacts and expertise, they remain on the staff of the institute and eventually return to Moscow. Some researchers, however, move from one institute to another or transfer to positions outside the research establishment. These movements could be due to various personal factors--such as personal frictions or greater opportunities in a new job--or may reflect changing priorities of the Central Committee, requiring reinforcement of a particular field, even at the expense of other fields. During the onset of the "detente" era, for example, the ranks of IUSAC noticeably swelled, and it appears that a recent movement of scholars to the IMRD has occurred. This latter phenomenon would suggest a greater interest by the Soviet leadership in revolutionary developments in Europe, particularly in light of political events in Portugal and along the entire southern flank of the continent. In addition, the creation of a new institute--such as those which were derived from IMEMO in the period 1959-68--requires the dislocation of personnel from existing research institutes, as well as the introduction of journalists, ministry and KGB specialists, and retired military personnel into the academic establishment. It is believed that these transfers can be either voluntary or coercive, depending upon the individual circumstance.

The composition of the personnel of Soviet research institutes therefore tends to be both diversified and interdisciplinary, and reflects the leadership's demands for policy-relevant and holistic assessments commensurate with Soviet domestic and global strategies. Accordingly, the Soviet research establishment has adopted increasingly sophisticated approaches and methodologies, as dictated by the principle of "scientific socialism."

IV SOVIET SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH METHODS AND APPROACHES

In order to pursue its main objectives of building communism in the USSR and winning the competition with capitalism on a global scale, the Soviet leadership attempts the formulation of integrated policies and complex strategies. This process requires a holistic appreciation of the entire realm of phenomena, both material and spiritual. It is the task of the Soviet social sciences to translate and "concretize" knowledge of these phenomena into sets of data relevant to the needs of the Soviet decision-making process:

In the life of our society the development of science is the indispensable basis for the adoption of decisions and for day-to-day practice. The Party continues, as it has always done, to support the innovative, Leninist approach to the study of complex social phenomena and the efforts of our theorists to develop social theory and creatively analyse reality.¹

The development of an analytical approach which is "creative," yet at the same time conforms with Marxist-Leninist ideology, constitutes adherence to the principle of scientific socialism. This process requires the integration of diverse research methodologies and disparate techniques, both quantitative and nonquantitative, for collecting and interpreting social science data. An essential element in Soviet research is the selection of relevant subject areas and the analysis and concretization of findings in consideration of the Soviet world view: that the trajectory of social change is determined by a dialectical-historical process and is characterized in the world arena by struggle between two opposing class systems.

¹ L. I. Brezhnev, The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (speech delivered 21 December 1972), p. 82 (Moscow, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, 1972).

Adherence to this global view, furthermore, entails an interdisciplinary and holistic analytical framework, commensurate with complex Soviet strategies and the correlation of systemic factors necessary for designing and executing these strategies. The dialectical-historical approach, however, does not provide the data itself, and Soviet social scientists employ conventional, nonideological methodologies for this purpose. In addition to their extensive use of published literature as a data base for qualitative analysis--such as the frequent citations of foreign books and periodicals in works emanating from IMEMO, IUSAC, TLA and others--Soviet social science researchers have increasingly turned to methodologies which at one time were characterized as "bourgeois" and thus proscribed by the Party leadership:

The complex processes of differentiation and integration which are occurring not only within the sphere of social sciences itself but also at the "junction" between the natural and the social sciences, bring about changes in the structure of social knowledge. The methods of social research are becoming richer, the forms of relations between social theory and practice are becoming diversified. The "powerful current" flowing from the natural to the social sciences in our time leads to the fact that ever more extensively quantitative mathematical methods are being used, new trends are arising (for example, economic-mathematical research), spheres of social knowledge are developing, where methods of cybernetics, statistics and mathematical modeling are being applied extensively, where experimental methods (social experiments) are beginning to be used, and so on. Hence the growing significance which the search for means of formalizing knowledge (naturally, within specific, admissible ranges) in a number of areas of social studies acquires, and the interest in methods of systems analysis. The intensification of these trends in social science will enable us, obviously, to broaden the area of its practical application in contemporary conditions.²

¹ V. Kelle, "The Role of Social Science in the Management of Social Processes," Kommunist, No. 7, p. 56 (May 1974).

The requisites of "managing" social change and of coordinating and planning a complex economic system, as well as an appreciation of the central role of science and technology in the ultimate development of society, have conditioned the Soviet leadership's acceptance and subsequent advocacy of sophistication in research methodologies.

The Soviet philosophical establishments--particularly the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences--have primary responsibility for investigation of the approaches and methodologies of the various sciences; more specifically, "the further elaboration of materialist dialectics, the theories of cognition and logic, the methodological problems of the social, natural and technical sciences."³ Given the range of these tasks, it is apparent that the philosophical institutes have a significant role in the overall conduct of social science research and in assuring that the dialectical-historical approach and the various research methodologies are integrated into the work of all the institutes. The fact that the Chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Section of Social Sciences, P. N. Fedoseyev, is a philosopher by training and has been director of both the Academy's Institute of Philosophy and the Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism indicates the pervasive function of the philosophical sciences. Fedoseyev was also for several years Chairman of the Scientific Council for Philosophical Problems of Modern Natural Sciences, which suggests that the creation of a methodological, theoretical nexus between the natural and social sciences may have been his responsibility.

The Soviet social sciences thus are charged with the dual task of determining the nature of the processes which govern society and of assessing

¹ CC CPSU Resolution "On Measures for Further Development of the Social Sciences and Heightening Their Role in Communist Construction," 14 August 1967, in KPSS v Rezolyutsiyakh i Resheniyakh S"vezdov, Konferentsii i Plenumov Tsk (The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Central Committee Plenums), Vol. IX, p. 348 (Moscow, Politizdat, 1972).

social phenomena on the basis of the understanding of these processes. According to Kommunist,

To serve the objectives of management [of social processes], social science must provide us with knowledge of the laws governing the development of the socialist society, their mechanisms of action under specific conditions, and the specific status of social reality, i.e., factual data on the situation.¹

A. The Dialectical-Historical Approach

In its efforts to upgrade the quality of Soviet social science work, the CPSU Central Committee has emphasized that a primary task is the recognition of the scientific nature of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and that the latter must be incorporated with all scientific endeavors. Therefore, the employment of research methodologies and disciplines which would appear to transcend the realm of the material dialectics is acceptable in cases when the dialectical-historical approach is used to define the parameters of the problem. The 1967 CC CPSU Resolution on the social sciences asserted that:

The requirements of science and practice ... raise a need for the organization of complex research in all the major lines of development of the social sciences. Prime attention in scientific research should be given to Marxist-Leninist methodology, to the principles of the class-Party, the concrete-historical approach to social phenomena.²

Soviet methodological works almost always include one or more chapters discussing the dialectical-historical significance of the subject area and methodologies focused upon in the study. The philosophical content, moreover, is regarded as an integral element of the respective methodological

¹ Kellie, op. cit., p. 62.

² CC CPSU Resolution "On Measures for Further Development of the Social Sciences and Heightening Their Role in Communist Construction," op. cit., p. 351.

problem and is not intended merely to provide background. A Soviet book on sociological research, for example, states explicitly that:

The dialectical approach is not an appendage to concrete sociological research. It is, if you please, a general-methodological directive towards the working out of the program and procedures of research. Thus, the dialectic assures that the quality or attribute of an item (in our case a social object) is revealed as something which remains in diverse relationships with other items.¹

This latter statement, in addition, affirms that corollary to the dialectical approach is the holistic, interdisciplinary process of analysis, which is regarded as necessary for the resolution of complex problems and likewise the formulation of complex policies.²

Soviet leaders and theoreticians demand that Soviet scientists consider the dialectical-historical approach not as a ritual, but as an actual framework for rational and purposeful analysis. They claim that science:

... presumes the development of thinking on the basis of the processing of empirical data and includes the synthetic activity of the mind and the formulation of principally new concepts and of a new conceptual apparatus. Therefore, it requires a method which would explain in their entirety the laws governing the dynamics of knowledge, which cannot be formulated by modern formal logic despite its complete cultivation.

¹ V. A. Yadov, Sotsiologicheskoye Issledovaniye: Metodologiya, Programma, Metody (Sociological Research: Methodology, Program, Methods), Moscow, "Nauka," p. 31 (1972). See also I. P. Suslov, Metodologiya Ekonomicheskogo Issledovaniya (The Methodology of Economic Research), Moscow, "Mysl'," 1974; I. I. Kuz'minov, V.S. Dunayeva, V. P. Maslenikov, Metodologicheskiye Problemy Politicheskoy Ekonomiki (Methodological Problems of Political Economy), Moscow, "Mysl'," 1965; General of the Army P. A. Kurochkin, ed., Osnovy Metodiki Voyenno-Nauchnogo Issledovaniya (Fundamentals of the Method of Military-Scientific Research), Moscow, Voenizdat, 1969.

² See M. A. Suslov, "The Social Sciences--The Party's Combat Weapon in Building Communism," Kommunist, No. 1, p. 27 (January 1972).

Dialectical materialism is the philosophical method for scientific-theoretical knowledge, the laws and categories of which are the basis for the synthesis of knowledge and direct the thought toward the search for the most fruitful solutions of new scientific problems.¹

It is this attention to the dialectics and to the so-called objective laws of history which, in the view of Soviet spokesmen, distinguishes socialist from bourgeois, "anticommunist" scientific practice. According to M. A. Suslov, "the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory as a basis for intensifying the struggle against bourgeois ideology in all its manifestations is one of the most important tasks for our social sciences."² Likewise, Pravda has emphasized the necessity for Soviet social scientists to integrate the understanding and elaboration of communist doctrine with their scientific investigations, in light of the current ideological struggle:

The positive development of new theoretical problems needs to be more closely combined with offensive criticism of modern bourgeois theories and revisionist and reformist concepts. In the solution of these tasks social scientists must rely upon Marxism-Leninism, reveal its universal, international significance, and enrich the great revolutionary teaching of modern times with new conclusions on the basis of profound analysis of the latest data of science and of social practice.³

Thus, the dialectical approach and the concomitant understanding of the laws of historical development underlie all other methodologies employed by Soviet social science researchers. The increasing application

¹ P. Kopnin and V. Lektorskiy, "Material Dialectics--the Methodological Basis of Scientific Knowledge," Kommunist, No. 7, pp. 89-90 (May 1971).

² Suslov, op. cit., p. 26.

³ Editorial, "Urgent Tasks of the Social Sciences," Pravda (15 August 1972).

of quantitative techniques for selecting and evaluating data, according to Soviet spokesmen, is not conducted in a philosophical vacuum in the USSR and therefore is a permissible practice. In addition, Soviet scholars make extensive use of foreign publications in their research, but the ideological filter is said to convert these sources into workable data vis-a-vis Soviet policy interests. This is implicit in the following discussion of these methodologies.

B. Increasing Use of Quantitative Analysis

The Soviet leadership's urging of social scientists to adopt the methods and disciplines of the natural sciences¹ has resulted in a growing quantitative orientation in the social science research institutes. In this regard, the August 1967 CC CPSU resolution on the social sciences decreed that:

... the USSR Council of Ministers' Central Statistical Administration and the USSR Academy of Sciences are jointly to work out a scientifically validated system of statistical data necessary for social research and to expand and specialize the publication of data.²

Some of the institutes, such as IMEMO, IIRD and IUSAC, have special laboratories and sections for mathematical modeling and systems analysis, and it is stated that a major task of all the social science institutes is the

... preparation on the basis of cited work of scientifically substantiated recommendations and also the working out of problems connected with the compilation of short- and long-term forecasts of the socio-economic and political development of our country and other states.

¹ Suslov, op. cit.

² CC CPSU Resolution "On Measures for Further Development of the Social Sciences and Heightening Their Role in Communist Construction," op. cit., p. 354.

³ "Contemporary Tasks of the Social Sciences in the Light of Lenin's Ideas," Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR (Herald of the USSR Academy of Sciences), No. 12, pp. 13-14 (December 1969).

The planned nature of Soviet society and economy and the claimed Marxist-Leninist foresight into the course of social relations have been the principal factors motivating this recent emphasis upon scientific modeling and forecasting in the social sciences.¹ Forecasting techniques used in the field of international relations, for example, include complex extrapolation, forecast modeling, survey research, and decision trees. According to one Soviet source:

No purposeful activity is possible in any sphere without planning, and this fully applies to foreign relations. A plan, as such, envisages a certain concrete and purposeful solution of a problem...

In contrast to a plan, a forecast sets out probabilities and serves as a scientific basis for the adoption of decisions designed to realise the plan... Forecasting in the sphere of foreign relations ... implies a review of the possible phenomena, acts and events, that is, a consistent analysis and reckoning of the variants, including those of small or insignificant probability.²

Foreign policy forecasting, in addition, is said to consist of the aggregate of individual systemic forecasts--of political, economic, social, military, ideological and scientific-technological phenomena--of the country, alliance or relationship under study.

The ceaseless processing of a vast flow of information is the main condition for scientific forecasting. There is need for simultaneous analysis of a multiplicity of parameters and a thorough study of the objective and subjective factors arising from the activity of those who implement the foreign policy of each state.³

The Laboratory of Economico-Mathematical Methods of the Analysis of Systems and Structures, in IMEMO, has undertaken work towards the development of means for forecasting the "paths the Third World will take towards

¹ See the Pravda editorial, "Urgent Tasks of the Social Sciences," op. cit.

² I. Bestuzhev-Lada and D. Yermolenko, "The Scientific Forecast of International Relations in the Light of Lenin's Teaching," International Affairs, Nos. 2-3, pp. 94-95 (February-March 1970). It is believed that Bestuzhev-Lada is a senior researcher at IMRD.

³ Ibid., p. 95.

its future."¹ Presumably, the results of this research, when applied, will provide for Soviet policymakers an assessment of the most opportune conditions and locales in the developing countries for exploitation of Soviet power. According to the Head of this laboratory, S. Kuzmin, the forecasting process "is often subjected to serious doubt," due to the complicated and transitional character of structures and systems in Third World countries.

However it may be, every significant phenomenon in the evolution of a society has its embryo or prototype in reality, in past and present experience. Consequently, knowledge of the regularities of present development already in itself determines more or less precise boundaries of possible changes, providing certain indicators or "bearings" for making sound judgments about the future. The search for such "bearings" is, in our view, the basis of forecasting; the fact of their objective existence justifies our speaking of the possibility of scientific forecasting even in relation to such complex multi-tier, multi-structural systems as are the socio-economic systems of the developing countries.²

The extent to which these socio-political forecasting methodologies have been operationalized is not clear, although evidence suggests that the Soviets have met with "some success" in their efforts to refine them.³ In contrast, progress in constructing models and forecasts in the scientific-technical and economic spheres has reached a more advanced level.⁴

¹ S. Kuzmin, Head of IMEMO's Laboratory of Economo-Mathematical Methods of the Analysis of Systems and Structures, "Methodology of Forecasting the Development of the Third World," Social Sciences, No. 1, p. 155 (1975).

² Ibid. See also S. Kuzmin, "Systems Analysis of the Developing Countries' Economies," Social Sciences, No. 1, pp. 87-98 (1973). This article is a summary of Kuzmin's book of the same title, published in 1972 by Nauka Publishers, Moscow.

³ Bestuzhev-Lada and Yermolenko, op. cit., p. 95.

⁴ Ibid.

The use of survey techniques and content analysis has become increasingly widespread among Soviet scholars, and even sensitive topics--such as interpersonal relations between Russian and non-Russian nationalities in the USSR--¹ are being researched. Soviet social scientists, judging from the citations in their methodological works, in general have adopted the techniques of Western behavioral scientists, particularly Lasswell, Berelson, Lazarsfeld, Gallup, Oppenheim and Osgood, although it appears that the indigenous Soviet literature on behavioral methodology is substantial.² Soviet social scientists are also experimenting with aggregate data, such as demographic, economic and labor statistics, in order to formulate hypotheses which can be used both for current Soviet policies and for forecasting purposes.

It must be emphasized that Party dictates require that Soviet scholars avoid "subjectivism" and therefore pursue methodological investigation only when it has potentially concrete applications; that is, for the building of communism in the USSR and the competition between the systems globally. In the words of S. Kuzmin of IMEMO, "this work continues with a view to finding the most effective means of influencing a given socio-economic system,"³ i.e., managing social change in directions favorable to Soviet interests.

C. Use of Foreign Publications

The use by Soviet social scientists of foreign publications for extraction of quantifiable data and for methodological insight has been discussed above. In addition, foreign literature provides for Soviet scholars

¹ Yu. V. Arutyunyan, editor, Sotsial'noye i Natsional'noye (Opyt Etnosotsiologicheskikh Issledovaniy po Materialam Tatarskoy ASSR (Social and National Experiments of Ethnosociological Research According to Data of the Tartar ASSR), Moscow, "Nauka," 1973. See also Yadov, op. cit., pp. 112-183.

² Yadov, op. cit., pp. 228-237.

³ Kuzmin, "Systems Analysis of the Developing Countries' Economies," op. cit., p. 88.

a tremendous data base for nonquantitative analyses, and a search through the periodicals and books published by the social science institutes reveals an extensive reading of these sources. This is particularly true with regard to IMEMO, IUSAC, IDV and other institutes whose focus lies outside the USSR.

It is evident that the foreign affairs institutes in the USSR Academy of Sciences receive a large number of Western newspapers, magazines and books; the extent to which the receipt and distribution of these materials are coordinated by the Institute of Scientific Information for the Social Sciences (INION) is not known, however. It is believed that INION's role, at the very least, is to collect relevant titles and prepare abstracts of foreign publications and disseminate this information to the appropriate research institutes.

Such U.S. periodicals as U.S. News and World Report, Newsweek, AFL-CIO News, New Republic, The New York Times and Foreign Affairs are frequently cited in the works of IUSAC and IMEMO, and apparently a considerable amount of the researchers' knowledge of current events, trends and opinions is derived from these sources. Moreover, the Congressional Record, the published transcripts of congressional hearings, and other documentary materials released by the U.S. government are used by Soviet analysts. Likewise, researchers from the Institutes of Africa, Latin America, World History, the Far East and so on collect and analyze relevant materials emanating from the United States and other countries, depending upon their regional and disciplinary research requirements.

Foreign books are widely quoted and reviewed in Soviet scholarly journals; in addition, institute members frequently review these books in non-academic journals, such as International Affairs. The IUSAC monthly, SShA: Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya, customarily publishes serialized Russian translations of U.S. books, usually a chapter or two per issue. These have included Theodore White's The Making of the President 1972, Bill Moyers' Listening to America, Victor Marchetti and John Marks The

CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, and Herbert York's Race to Oblivion.

These serializations are carefully abridged by the Soviet editors, so that passages which do not conform with official Soviet concepts or images are deleted. In an unpublished paper comparing the U.S. and Soviet versions of York's book, U.S. analyst Paul W. Blackstock reports that deletions of substantive material in the latter amount to several pages of text. It can be assumed that substantive, as well as editorial, deletions have been made in preparing the other books for publication in SSSR. Other foreign books which have been translated into Russian and published in Moscow include William Appleman Williams' The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (from the Moscow Institute of International Relations), Norbert Wiener's Cybernetics and Society, and John K. Galbraith's The New Industrial State.

These and numerous other foreign books--or at least the sanitized versions of them--are available to anyone in the Soviet Union who would care to read them. It is apparent, however, that Soviet social scientists have access to an infinitely greater number of non-Soviet publications than the lay citizen, due to the requirements of their research and the fact that for the most part they work in a controlled environment, the institute. Furthermore, these scholars are accorded privileges of travel and of foreign contact unobtainable by most Soviet citizens, and the reading of material not approved by Party censors is probably the least hazardous of these activities, by Party standards.

V ROLE OF THE SOVIET RESEARCH INSTITUTES IN THE FORMULATION AND EXECUTION OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

This concluding chapter seeks to identify and analyze the major functions of those Soviet research institutes which are most closely involved in the Soviet foreign policy process. Some of these functions are obvious from the published products of the institutes, such as the long-range forecasting about social, economic, and scientific problems of concern to Soviet leaders. Since many of these matters are highly controversial--within the USSR as well as in Western countries--the research institutes also play a discernible role in the formulation of Soviet foreign policy by presenting different points of view on subjects which are deemed fit for controlled debate and disagreement.

Through their research exchange programs with the West, Soviet research institutes gather data and develop comprehensive knowledge useful for Soviet policy formulation. In addition, these exchanges also grant the institutes a role in the execution of Soviet foreign policy, for in these scholarly forums, institute personnel disseminate objective information as well as deceptive propaganda to Western audiences. It should be noted that the propaganda function of the institutes is exercised both at home and abroad. As will be revealed later in the discussion on the institutes' role in presenting differing points of view, the publications of the institutes are, to an important degree, employed in support of current policy positions of the CPSU. These complex and numerous roles are not well documented, but they must be briefly summarized in order to appraise the actual significance of the Soviet research institutes.

A. The Soviet Forecasting System

Soviet spokesmen, party leaders, and scholars claim that the analysis of the correlation of forces provides their leadership with a "scientific" basis for assessing the relative opportunities, constraints, and risks, so that appropriate choices may be made among foreign policy options. The Soviets perceive that Americans are philosophically and institutionally ill-equipped to make comparable system-wide assessments of the correlation of forces, and tend, therefore, to concentrate on military factors. With the

advent of nuclear parity, the influence of economic, political, scientific-technological, and ideological factors is enhanced. At the same time, strategies employing these non-military factors can be devised and implemented by the Soviets in the competition between the two world systems of capitalism and socialism.¹ Under such conditions, the "scientifically" designed Soviet system of information collection, processing, and forecasting which gives rise to their perceptions, is as important in systems competition as missiles would be in a contest of arms.

Accurate forecasting of foreign affairs, and the internal dynamics of the United States permits Soviet policymakers to anticipate changes and take steps in order to adjust or adapt to new conditions. The long-range planning of the Soviet economy (five to fifteen years) and the growing interdependence with the West as a source of high technology necessitates future projections of the U.S. economy and scientific-technological potential. Current Soviet economic planning incorporates a projection of imports and trade with the United States.

It should be noted that social forecasting is conducted on a broad scale in many scientific institutes in the USSR and is not limited to forecasting trends in the development of foreign countries. On the contrary, perhaps the main share of such work is devoted to generating data on the future capacity, needs, trends, etc., of the domestic economy and the expected trajectory of social development in the USSR. As A. N. Kosygin stressed in a speech at the state Planning Committee (GOSPLAN) in March 1965:

We must have at our disposal scientific forecasts of the development of every branch of industry in order to promptly take the road to advancement and progress, and to know the best directions for planned development.²

¹ G. Shaknazarov, "On the Problem of Correlation of Forces in the World," Kommunist, No. 3, p. 79 (February 1974).

² N. Melnikov, excerpts from "Forecasting--An Instrument of Action," Pravda, 6 January 1971, in RAND, Soviet Cybernetics Review, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 43 (May 1971).

In 1971, Academician N. Mel'nikov described the primary objectives of "scientific forecasting" as:

- To discover long-term (stable) trends affecting the development of branches and regions and to determine the range of national economic measures and their changes over time
- To evaluate long-term directions in the development of technology and to ensure correct planning for new equipment development, and the state measures necessary for this purpose
- To determine progressive scientific trends and basic research tasks...¹

In this section the unique Soviet system of information collection, processing and forecasting will be described in order to indicate how Soviet analysts identify the main trends of S&T development, central issues facing the U.S. and Soviet economy in the future, and the context in which these issues and trends are viewed.

This analysis begins with the basic elements of the system, the network of institutions which collect, process, store, and disseminate data. This discussion does not purport to provide an exhaustive description and analysis of the entire Soviet information system and therefore is restricted to presenting illustrative examples of information agencies at the All-Union level. Space does not permit treatment of the central institutes of the "Branch" system, Departments of Scientific and Technical Information (ONTIs), Union Republic and Inter-Branch Territorial Centers, and specialized research and development agencies of the USSR. The sheer size of the Soviet effort to acquire scientific-technological information is impressive:

At present, the state system of scientific and technical information is made up of 10 All-Union, 86 central branch and 15 republic institutes, 89 interbranch territorial

¹ N. Melnikov, RAND, Soviet Cybernetics Review, p. 43.

centers and over 10,000 scientific and technical information departments (bureaus) at enterprises and in institutes and design bureaus. In addition, more than 1,500 scientific and technical libraries have taken on the functions of information departments (bureaus) wherever these subdivisions have not been set up as yet. The total number of regular personnel is 155,000. Approximately 5,000,000 scientists and specialists make direct use of their services. The nationwide reference-and-information bank contains about 1,500,000 documents....¹

Among the All-Union agencies, four of the more important are illustrative of the scale and capabilities of the USSR national scientific and technical information system (STINFO). One of the most central organizations of the system is the All-Union Scientific and Technical Information Center (VNTITs) in Moscow. The purpose of VNTITs is to register research projects and to distribute "unpublished" scientific-technical works generated anywhere in the Soviet Union.² It also registers and is a depository of computer programs, algorithms, and dissertations. Registered projects (registration is mandatory) are listed in the Bulletin of Registration, published in a series of thirty-four subject categories employed by VNTITs. This center registers from 70,000 to 85,000 new research projects, announces 60,000 unpublished technical reports, receives 30,000 dissertations, and answers some 30,000 requests for information annually.³

The International Center of Scientific and Technical Information (MTsNTI) in Moscow was set up under the auspices of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and has a governing board composed of representatives of the information systems of the member countries. The Soviet Union provides 74 percent of the annual operation budget of 1,000,000 rubles.⁴

¹ M. Korolev, "How Does Information Work?" Pravda, p. 3 (11 September 1975)

² U.S. Department of Commerce, The USSR Scientific and Technical Information System: A U.S. View Report of the U.S. Participants in the U.S./USSR Symposium on Scientific and Technical Information. National Science Foundation, Office of Science Information Service. N.T.I.S. Report: NTIS-SR-73-01, p. 13 (October 1973).

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

MTsNTI seeks to achieve as its main objective "complete compatibility among the national scientific and technical information systems of the CEMA countries," and has defined for itself the following tasks:¹

- Optimization of the organizational components to insure maximum cooperation
- Development of methods to insure linguistic compatibility
- Development of methods to insure technical compatibility
- Optimization of international branch systems for the dissemination of industrial information.

The State Public Library for Science and Technology (GPNTB) was established by the State Committee for Science and Technology, and is directly responsible to it. Under the aegis of the GPNTB operate some 23,000 technical libraries located throughout the USSR with total holdings amounting to 600,000,000 items.² The Library itself, in Moscow, holds approximately 6,000,000 items, including 2,000,000 journals; all Soviet scientific-technical journals and some 9,000 foreign serials.³ As a main element in the national inter-library network, linked by teletype, GPNTB's daily circulation of materials numbers 35,000; it photoduplicates 25,000,000 pages, and prints through its own facilities an additional 25,000,000 pages of bibliographies, abstracts, and information cards per year.⁴

The Library has an active research and development program, fulfilling the task of providing leadership and designing the automation of library processes in the USSR. In this regard much recent effort has been devoted to insuring the compatibility of its systems with those of other information agencies. In connection with the All-Union Institute of Scientific and

¹ Ibid., p. 15.

² The USSR Scientific and Technical Information System: A U.S. View.
N.T.I.S. Report NTIS-SR-73-01, p. 16.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 17.

Technical Information (VINITI), to be discussed shortly, which generates much of the Main Library's data, the GPNTB is cooperating in the task of creating the means to distribute bibliographic data in machine-readable form to the library network of eighty-two branch ministries.¹

Typical of the data-collecting elements of the Soviet information system is the All-Union Institute of Scientific and Technical Information (VINITI) under the State Committee for Science and Technology. This institute is charged with monitoring current foreign literature, especially U.S., in scientific-technical and other related fields. This institute, a fundamental part of the larger information system, collects, pools, and organizes information for processing, storing, and dissemination. It is the world's largest single producer of abstracts of scientific-technical literature, reported in 1971 to process approximately one million articles, books, and descriptions of inventions.² VINITI now processes 25,000 serial publications in sixty-four foreign languages, received from 118 nations.³ The comprehensiveness of its coverage is indicated by its publications, in particular the reference series, Referativnyi Zhurnal, and critical reviews of scientific progress, Itogi Nauki. In 1970, the director of the institute, then Professor A. Mikhailov, reported that the number of specific items presented in the Referativnyi Zhurnal totaled 975,000.⁴ This journal has a circulation of 4,000,000 copies, of which 15 percent are sent abroad.⁵

VINITI and other institutes which similarly collect, process, store and disseminate data acquired from foreign and domestic sources, as well as the overall USSR information system of which they are a part, are vital

¹ Ibid., p. 17

² Pravda (29 March 1971)

³ The USSR Scientific and Technical Information System: A U.S. View
N.T.I.S. Report NTIS-SR-73-01, p. 18.

⁴ Kommunist, No. 16, p. 104 (November 1971)

⁵ N.T.I.S. Report NTIS-SR-73-01, p. 18.

elements and primary stages in the forecasting process. Information generated by such institutes as VINITI serves a dual function: it is used directly to supplement Soviet knowledge in specialized fields and is utilized by specialized institutes charged with forecasting responsibilities. Those institutes with foreign concerns prepare material for open publication as well as inputs to intelligence estimates for Soviet military planners, government ministries and the central apparatus of the Communist Party. The responsibilities of these institutes are divided according to substantive concerns (IMRD--the Institute of International Workers Movement, the Institute of Sociology), or by geopolitical focus (IUSAC--Institute of the United States and Canada, IDV--Institute of the Far East).

The program of forecasting long-range scientific and technological developments and their human and socio-economic consequences was established by a decree of the CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers on 24 September 1968. The Resolution, "On Measures for Increasing the Effectiveness of the Work of Scientific Organizations and Acceleration of the Use of Achievements of Science and Technology in the National Economy," acknowledged the necessity of predicting scientific and technical progress in the most important problem areas of development for long periods of time (up to 10-15 and more years).¹

In order to avoid errors in the forecasting of U.S. scientific and technological trends (which were due in part to excessive concentration on U.S. S&T activities while neglecting the social, economic, and political factors which shape the impact of S&T), the Soviets developed special inter-institutional bodies, and introduced systemic factors in the research conducted on the U.S. within specialized institutes such as IUSAC and IMEMO. The Soviets became aware of this perception-distortion or error factor

¹ Tardov, B. N., "The Basis for Long-Range Planning" Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya, p. 2 (8 August 1969)

toward the end of the 1960s. In August 1967 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union passed a resolution, "On Measures for Further Developing the Social Sciences and Heightening Their Role in Communist Constructions." The Resolution stated in part:

The Central Committee CPSU's resolution directs the attention of the scientific research institutions, the Party organizations and the collectives of scholars working in philosophy, economics, scientific communism, history, law, esthetics, pedagogy, psychology and other social sciences to the necessity for more effective and comprehensive development of major theoretical problems, the creation of generalizing works on urgent questions of the development of society and modern scientific knowledge, and further raising the quality and effectiveness of scientific research.¹

In compliance with these and other resolutions, efforts were made to develop methodologies for forecasting socio-economic, socio-political, scientific-technological, and even "geocosmic" trends. The Soviets have concentrated such activities--at least those of an overt nature--in the Social Forecasting Section of the Scientific Council of the Academy of Sciences USSR on Problems in Concrete Social Research, and in the Scientific Research Committee on the Forecasting of Scientific and Technical Progress and its Social Consequences. That committee's publication, Voprosy Nauchnovo Prognozirovaniya (Problems of Scientific Forecasting), suggests that this organization plays a role in synthesizing trends forecasted by the more specialized institutions in the USSR. Thus the special forecasts of specific trends or tendencies in the United States, made by highly specialized groups, were integrated into large forecasting systems which take into account the socio-political, socio-economic, military, and ideological factors which interact with the development and utilization of science and technology, in the competition between two systems. This "large system" type of forecasting is described by I. Bestuzhev-Lada and

¹ Spravochnik Partiynogo Rabotnika (Party Worker's Handbook) Moscow: Politizdat, 8th Edition, p. 250 (1968).

D. Yermolenko in their article on the scientific forecast of International relations:

Foreign policy forecasting is a system of forecasts ranging over a vast number of spheres. It should reflect the whole aggregate of economic, political and social factors in their evolution. Forecasts take into account economic development and scientific and technological progress, the dynamics of social relations (including, and above all, relations of production), changes in the arrangement of social forces, the growth of the military-industrial potential and the political acts of separate classes and groups, their morale, and ideological and socio-psychological orientation.¹

According to the authors, the concrete methods in forecasting include "extrapolation" of regularities or trends into the future, "analogy" or the assumption of like events occurring under similar circumstances, "collective expertise," and "scientific intuition" based on the scientist's long experience in a specialized sphere. To these simple methods have been added sophisticated modelling through decision-trees and other "mathematical-computational techniques."² This forecast modelling includes "normative forecasting--a reckoning of the function of preferability," and "analytical forecasting"--analysis of the "function of probability."

Extrapolative methods as described by A. S. Konson and V. A. Lisichkin have been employed to forecast the productivity of science, the quantitative characteristics of the nation's scientific potential, the quantitative and qualitative parameters of technical equipment, and the characteristics of the structural element of technical systems. Also utilized in such forecasts are the well-known techniques of statistical analysis and

¹ I. Bestuzhev-Lada, D. Yermolenko, "The Scientific Forecast of International Relations in the Light of Lenin's Teaching" International Affairs, Moscow, p. 95 (2-3 February-March 1970).

² Ibid.

"curve-fitting."¹ The collective expertise method entails a much increased use of experts,² and to this end groups or whole populations of scientists, researchers, or specialists are polled in the effort to increase the objectivity of forecasts. This is a longstanding technique in the USSR and is usually employed through the organization of special "commissions" within science academies or the government.

The Soviets are seeking to develop and perfect "large system" forecasts encompassing both scientific-technological and socio-economic prognoses. V. A. Lisichkin describes such comprehensive, systemic, forecasting as consisting of "organizational measures, theoretical, methodological and methodic investigations, formulating a complex of predictions of a certain set of objects, related functionally or parametrically into a defined set (system of armaments, automated control system, social results of the scientific and technological revolution, etc.). The result of the functioning of a forecasting system is a model of the predictions of various aspects and features of the life of the society."³

Social Forecasting as practiced in the Soviet Union is designed to play an important role in Soviet socio-economic development, to aid in the process of control or the "governing" of that development, and to anticipate future conditions, both domestic and foreign, in order that the CPSU may effectively guide the future transitions of society. According to one Soviet forecasting expert, V. A. Lisichkin, a major difference exists in

¹ H. S. Konson, et al., Ekonomika Nauchnykh Razrabotok (Economics of Scientific Developments) Izdat. "Ekonomika" Moscow 1969, V. A. Lisichkin, Ekonomicheskiye Problemy Prognozirovaniya (Economic Problems of Forecasting) Izdat. "Ekonomika" Moscow 1968.

² V. M. Glushkov, "Forecasting on the Basis of Expert Evaluations" Kibernetika No. 2, pp. 2-4 (1969) and Glushkov, "Concerning Forecasting on the Basis of Expert Estimates," Naukovedeniye, Prognosirovaniye, Informatika (Science Management, Forecasting, Information). Izdat. "Naukova Dumka," Kiev (1970).

Note: V. M. Glushkov is a member of the Academy of Sciences, USSR, and Director of the Institute of Cybernetics in Kiev.

³ V. A. Lisichkin, O Prognoziruyushchikh Sistemakh (On Forecasting Systems) 1967. Translated by U.S. Dept. of Commerce, JPRS: 49730 (2 February 1970).

the purpose and nature of forecasting under capitalism and socialism. His discussion of these differences is worth quoting in detail:

We must note the difference in principle in the approach to scientific and technical prediction in the socialist and capitalist countries. It follows from the basic differences in the economical and political purposes and tasks. In its nature, scientific and technical forecasting in the country-wide scale is inherent in and inseparable from the planned conduct of the national economy. Plans for the development of the socialist economy include as integral parts the forecasts of scientific and technical progress. Under the conditions of the capitalist economy, statewide forecasting of scientific and technical development is practically impossible, since it is almost impossible to consider the subjective factors of the private sector of the economy, the fluctuations of the market, etc.

The statement of the tasks for forecasting is also different. In capitalism, forecasting is one of the methods of survival in the competitive war. Timely discovery of tendencies, development of a proper forecast, investment of capital according to, and from all of this prediction is first of all a search for optimal paths of scientific and technical development in the interests of the state.

Under the conditions of private enterprise, the forecast is an instrument for production of the maximum profit, even if it does not correspond to national goals....

The political purposes are also opposite. Scientific and technical forecasts in the USSR confirm the correctness and scientific foundation of the building of the material and technical basis of communism.... Progress of technology in capitalism, however, is inseparable with the reinforced exploitation of the workers, the decrease of the life standard, etc. Scientific and technical forecasts arouse pessimism and fear in the people, fear of the future. For example, predictions of the development of computer technology and automation are associated by the workers in the West with unavoidable unemployment, the era of working robots, etc.

The methodological basis of scientific and technical forecasting also differs. In the West, particularly in the USA, the general methodology of forecasting is

pragmatism or neo-positivism. The concepts of forecasting of August Kant and his predictions are widely cited. In the countries of socialism, scientific and technical forecasting is based on the dialectical materialistic concepts of the development of nature, the society and knowledge.

We should note the difference in principle between the goal situations against which the forecasts are set in the USSR and in the West. In the USSR, in predicting scientific and technical progress as the future background, the medium the surroundings [sic], we use the set of tasks related to the building of the material and technical basis of communism. However, war and peace occupy an important place in this problem. For the Western forecasters, however, the social and economic and political picture of the world of the future, on the basis of which they develop their scientific and technical predictions, consists of local and global conflicts, a continuous arms race, expanding military applications of scientific progress. These differences are reflected in the analysis of concrete examples of the applications of the forecasting systems in the USSR and the West....¹

As indicated earlier in this discussion, many Soviet research institutes contribute to the forecasting process, and in the case of specialized institutes, several maintain forecasting sections. IMEMO and IUSAC are two of the most important institutes preparing forecasts of the impact of the scientific-technological revolution on the United States. While detailed, complete, forecasts are unavailable to the Western observer, some products and features of these forecasts are displayed regularly in party journals such as Kommunist and the various publications of the institutes.

The published products of Soviet forecasting systems tend not to contain specific predictions of events or precisely defined rates of change. With respect to international relations, large forecasting systems produce probabilistic estimates and identification of the main and

¹ V. A. Lisichkin, On Forecasting Systems, JPRS 49730, pp. 1-2 (2 February 1970)

general trends expected to influence the course of future development:

...forecasting does not at all consist in predicting details, but in finding the general tendency of development and framing a scale of probabilities for the various regular and accidental deviations. This makes it possible to bring out the most probable, the least probable and the optimum variants of long-term development.¹

In the discipline of economics, the Soviets are similarly reticent about the accuracy of forecasting the future course of modern capitalism. A Soviet TMEMO economist, S. M. Menshikov, main author of a dynamic input-output model of the U.S. economy, presented his findings in the January and February 1972 issues of the journal SShA (house organ of the Institute on the U.S.A. and Canada) and was severely criticized by the editors.² The editorial argued that "the anarchy of production and the whole complex of economic and political contradictions of modern capitalism are decisive factors which in principle make accurate forecasts impossible."³ The sense of these editorial comments seem reflected in the fact that Soviet writings on the U.S. economy rarely project specific details more than one and one-half years, and in those cases the findings are based on U.S. sources and predictions by U.S. economists and businessmen.

Soviet forecasting has, however, identified the main trends of the U.S. economy and projected them. The general assessment generated by such forecasting is that the U.S. economy will remain very unstable due to its inherent contradictions. Soviet economists do not expect the imminent collapse of modern U.S. capitalism, but rather foresee that it will be

¹ I. Bestuzhev-Lada, D. Yermolenko, "The Scientific Forecast of International Relations in the Light of Lenin's Teaching," International Affairs, p. 95 (Moscow, 2-3 February-March 1970).

² Speculation as to the reasons for this criticism includes the following: the editors realized that if Menshikov's input-output model could forecast problems, etc. in the capitalist economy, then the capitalists could similarly do so and take steps to avoid them.

³ "From the Editor," SShA (U.S.A.), No. 2 (February 1972).

plagued well into the 1980s by the basic problems and issues facing it today.

The impact of the scientific-technological revolution figures prominently in Soviet assessments of the potential and expected course of the U.S. economy:

The scientific and technical revolution accelerates the practical utilization of new equipment and new technological ways and processes, the use of new materials, and so on. In turn this creates drastic changes in correlations among the different elements of the production process; it destroys the established system of production organization, and triggers profound structural changes in the economy as a whole, and in industry, in particular.¹

More specific trends noted as a result of the S&T revolution describe the substantially changing distribution of manpower among basic areas of economic activity. These trends include a decrease in the number of people employed in the agricultural sector as it is converted from "a manual to an industrial stage," and the rapid increase in the number of people employed in "services;" in industry a relative decline is occurring in the numbers engaged in "extracting" sectors, compared to those in "processing" ones. In addition, the new industrial sector, which more fully embody the trends in S&T progress develop more rapidly than the others. These sectors include: electrical engineering and electronics, chemical and petrochemical industries, machinebuilding, and the precision sectors or aerospace and nuclear industries.²

The Soviets perceive the United States to have reached the "highest level of development of production forces," in which the achievements of

¹ L. Leont'yev, "A Study of Capitalism in the 1970s" Kommunist, No. 10, pp. 120-121 (July 1974). A book review by L. Leont'yev USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, on a series issued by IMEMO.

² Ibid., p. 121.

the scientific and technical revolution are applied "relatively extensively."¹ This commanding development of S&T and its utilization has its price:

...The United States pays for its leadership in this respect with the greatest aggravation and intensification of contradictions inseparably linked with the scientific and technical revolution under capitalism: increased frequency of economic crises and declines, an aggravation of the problems of the market and foreign economic relations, inflation, increased gap between wealth and poverty, increased unemployment, insecurity on the part of the working people in their future, particularly drastic manifestations of the economic crisis, increased instability of the entire system of social relations....²

In the foreign economic sphere Soviet observers have noted a sharp increase in the "internationalization of economic life" characterized by the "export of capital" from industrially developed nations to others, the tendency of capitalist integration, the increased role of "international monopolies" or multinational corporations, and the aggressive use of U.S. capital investment in foreign economies. These trends, according to the Soviets, provoke conflicts of interest within and among the capitalist nations, and are characteristic of the contradictions inherent in monopoly capitalism in its highest stages.

In regard to specific global economic problems facing the United States, the matter of the energy crisis is one of the most important. Ye. M. Primakov, a Soviet expert on the Middle East and oil, and deputy director of IMEMO, notes that the energy crisis "promoted the strengthening of centripetal forces" in the Atlantic community and observes:

The USA has a preeminent, not only military, but also scientific-technical position in the capitalist world, particularly in the most rapidly advancing and important fields and directions of scientific-technical progress,

¹ Ibid., p. 117.

² L. Leont'yev, "A Study of Capitalism in the 1970s," Kommunist, No. 10, p. 117 (July 1974).

including as well the energy field. In connection with the special role of the USA in the capitalist world in the fields of research and industrial development of new sources of energy, one can observe a new field of dependence of Western European states as well as Japan on the USA.¹

In his appraisal of the world-wide situation, Primakov forecasts a continuing increase in the price of oil and gas which will induce price rises in a series of other raw materials. Regardless of capitalism's tendency toward internationalization of production, efforts made by the U.S. at energy independence (by developing its own resources and alternative sources of energy) are seen by Primakov as a potential threat to the revenue and political power of a number of Arab states.² He concludes that "oil is preserved as a form of important raw material for industry, but will no longer play a unique role in the energy field."³

In general, the published products of Soviet forecasting of economic and scientific trends in the United States tend to be pessimistic in tone and interpretation. Soviet analysts tend to stress weaknesses, perhaps for ideological or propaganda reasons, without construing them as sealing the imminent doom of capitalism. The current period is one of change, and Soviet specialists on the U.S. economy and state-monopoly capitalism appear to believe that in this dynamic era capitalism may develop temporary solutions to its problems, but all the while creating new conflicts and heightening its inherent contradictions.

¹ Ye. M. Primakov "The Energy Crisis in Capitalist Countries: Several Questions about the Energy Crisis and its Influence on the Contemporary World" MEiMO No. 2, pp. 71-72 (1974).

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

B. Presentation of Differing Points of View

The personnel of Soviet research institutes frequently publish articles and books in the open Soviet press on a variety of topics relevant to Soviet foreign policy issues. Although careful censorship limits the substance of discussion and prescribes in advance the parameters within which a given topic may be considered, differences of opinion are observable both within and between institutes such as IMEMO and IUSAC. Usually subtle and couched in vague language, the disparity in views suggests interesting hypothetical propositions for investigation by the analyst of Soviet affairs:

- The presentation of differing points of view by the research institutes indicates the existence of ongoing debate within the Soviet foreign policy apparatus
- The institutes act as surrogates for major party or state interests locked in policy debate, by conducting proxy discussions in the open press
- Publications of the research institutes are employed by authoritative party or state groups as a test vehicle for innovative ideas or changes in policy for which official pronouncements are felt to be inappropriate
- Differing views are accepted, or perhaps even encouraged (albeit within relatively strict bounds), for they aid Soviet propaganda and disinformation campaigns aimed at the external world.
- Despite the role of key institutes in the Soviet foreign policy process, that of supplying decision makers analysis, data, and forecasts of contemporary phenomena, the differences in research institute views merely reflect the personal predilections of various academic experts and have little policy significance.

These hypothetical propositions on the import of differing views and debates among research institute writers range from one extreme to the other. None are probably adequate to explain the role of Soviet research institutes in this regard. It is likely that at differing times and according to specific issues these propositions singly, or in various combinations, describe the role of the institutes in presenting contrasting

views on foreign policy issues. Because adequate data is presently unavailable to test our propositions any conclusions must be seen as tentative at best. However, in spite of such limitations, the research conducted by SRI-SSC has led us to posit the following conceptual framework with which to view these activities of the Soviet institutes.

Debates behind the closed doors of specialized sections and departments of the institutes (and in conferences of specialists in the same field but belonging to different institutes) go on continuously. Participants do not challenge established policies or the overall international strategy of the leadership. But they clash over specific issues, over tactics to be followed in attaining the best results for the Soviet Union, and in their evaluations of the "lessons of the past" as these may be applicable to new situations. They debate merits and demerits of proposed moves to be followed, be it in relations with the United States, in international trade and investment, in dealing with the Middle East vortex, with revolutionary developments in the Third World, or relations with other socialist states.

In these debates academic experts tend to disregard current party positions, at least in the form that they are reflected in articles published in newspapers and ideologically-oriented journals. From their point of view these articles provide only the broadest framework for actual policy and are designed to serve as guidance largely to propagandists cultivating the ideological orientation of the public at large. Current Party positions, however, influence to a very considerable extent the judgment of editors of scholarly journals. These individuals consider themselves (and are so considered by the Central Committee where their appointments have to be approved) responsible for uniform treatment of controversial subjects on the pages of their publications. The result is that what appears in print is no more than a pale reflection of the debates unfolding behind the closed doors.

Nevertheless, the proliferation of publications makes it possible for a scholar to air his views in a more obscure (but still read) academic journal. The enormous variety of topics and issues coming under the scrutiny

of writers on international affairs probably makes it quite difficult for editors to visualize the likely Party line (if there indeed could be such a line) in the treatment of diverse, specialized subjects. Open clashes in print are prevented; differences in approach, in emphasis, in interpretation, are not.

Debates in Soviet publications arouse natural curiosity of watchful Western observers, endeavoring to find in them clues to what goes on behind the impenetrable screen of Soviet decision-making. To what extent the apparent clashes of views and concepts reflect serious conflicts of opinion which might lead to a change of policy, is impossible to determine without detailed knowledge of the institutional and personal connections of the writers and editors involved. A controversial article may speak for a vested interest of institutionalized opinion. It may be a trial balloon, let out on high authority to be shot down if reaction to it would so warrant. It may simply be an effort to address a specific audience on a specific issue rather than be significant in terms of a general policy. And it also may be a statement of the writer himself who had enough influence to succeed in having his article published.

But if there is a rebuttal, followed by a prolonged debate, it can be assumed that certain forces, academic and otherwise, gather around conflicting concepts in an attempt to influence decisionmaking. It is doubtful that such debates are deliberately orchestrated by high authorities. Historically, overwhelming Soviet preference has been and is for a quiet, deliberate process, with the absolute minimum of anything indicating to the public that serious cleavages might exist among the leaders. The conclusion is that public debates are genuine reflections of disagreements, although held well within the broad outlines of established policy, but nevertheless indicating the growing inability, or perhaps perceived disutility of attempting to enforce unanimity in public expressions of the Soviet academic elite.

C. Relationships with Western Institutes

The role of Soviet research institutes of presenting differing points of view, and engaging in debate over military, political, and economic issues, is not restricted to the forum of the Soviet press. Rather, select Soviet institutes have engaged in discussions and scholarly exchanges with many Western institutes and universities, and sent their personnel to participate in conferences and symposia on issues of mutual concern such as East-West trade and arms control. A significant increase in Soviet-U.S. communication and scholarly discourse on such subjects coincided with the advent of "detente" following the 1972 Accords. Soviet interest and sponsorship of such exercises is attributable to the following purposes which stem directly from the function of Soviet research institutes in providing data and forecasts on the United States, necessary to the conduct and formulation of Soviet foreign policy:

- to gather data and generate detailed, comprehensive knowledge on the United States useful to Soviet policy-makers, especially with respect to the realms of economics, domestic political and social affairs, military strategy, foreign policy, and science and technology.
- to identify the most prominent members of American academic, professional, and policy-making elites, the views of these groups, and the attitudinal cleavages within them.
- to gain a first-hand, personal knowledge of the United States, its society and culture, which is unavailable through a mere reading of published sources.

Other purposes, which have appeared as factors in these exchanges, can be classified as "influencing efforts":

- To reinforce the official party positions that are commonly found in open Soviet sources, especially during ongoing bilateral negotiations such as SALT and MBFR.
- With respect to specific issues of a controversial nature, efforts are made to clarify the Soviet position, or present it in a more sophisticated fashion than that common to the main organs of the Soviet press.

- To present information to select U.S. audiences in the effort to foster desired images of the Soviet Union and dispell those deemed unfavorable to Soviet purposes.
- To advance on an unofficial and experimental basis, new ideas (which in retrospect appear to have reflected internal discussions) in order to test the reactions of a select foreign audience.

The four purposes outlined above describe, in the main, the role Soviet research institutes play in the execution of Soviet foreign policy. Just as the conduct of Soviet foreign policy is not restricted to diplomacy and the official channels of negotiation, leading individuals of Soviet research institutes act in an "unofficial" capacity as representatives and communicators for party and government circles in the USSR.

Active association by noted Soviet scientists with the U.S. scientific community, through such vehicles as international scientific and professional associations, has been a long-established practice. Of particular interest here, however, is the more recent phenomenon of such important, foreign policy-related Soviet institutes as IMEMO and IUSAC engaging directly in symposia and parallel research projects with U.S. research organizations.

A prime example of this is the U.S. government-approved, research relationship between the Strategic Studies Center of SRI and the two Soviet institutes, IMEMO and IUSAC, prominent institutes in the social sciences section of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Three joint symposia have been held to discuss political/strategic and economic issues in U.S./USSR relations. The SRI/~~SSC~~ acts as a lead research institute, with symposium participants included from academic and other non-profit research institutes. Senior officials of the Department of Defense, military services, and other agencies also benefited from observer status.

In April 1973, the first joint U.S./Soviet Research Symposium was held near the Rosslyn offices of Stanford Research Institute. The research dialogue was undertaken at the direction of Dr. John Foster, then the DDR&E,

and Dr. Fred Wikner, then the Director of Net Assessment, ODDR&E. The Soviet group was headed by the respective Deputy Directors of the two institutes, Dr. Primakov of IMEMO and Dr. Zhurkin of IUSAC. Papers were prepared, presented, and commented on by both the U.S. and Soviet scholars. The results of this symposium are reported in SSC-IN-73-19, "An Interim Report on: The SRI-IMEMO/IUSAC Symposium of April 1973, on Problems and Opportunities in U.S./USSR Relations," and SSC-IN-73-66, "A Ten Percent Force Reduction for MBFR in Europe: Comments Made at the SRI/IMEMO Symposium of April 1973." Additional data were obtained during the symposium on IMEMO/IUSAC operations, Soviet military doctrine, the role of the U.S./Soviet trade in U.S./Soviet relations and methodological problems in comparing economies.

The second symposium was held in Moscow in September 1974. The research discussions focused on SALT, as had been the case in the first symposium. Considerable interest and attention were also given to political-military issues of the Middle East and to the Schlesinger Limited Nuclear Options strategy. The economic discussions dealt with trade potential, the role of credit in the expansion of economic relations, and common economic problems such as energy. Briefings to various government groups were held in September 1974 as the primary means of disseminating research results of the symposium.¹

During the second symposium, it was concluded that the feasibility of parallel research projects should be formally explored. After obtaining government endorsement of the projects, further discussions in November 1974 and April 1975 were held regarding terms of reference for the studies. Both projects are currently underway, one addressing U.S./USSR economic relations in detente, the other, mutual perceptions of selected political/strategic issues.

¹ A compendium of trip reports was prepared as the symposium report, SSC-TN-2625-6, "U.S./USSR Strategic and Economic Issues SRI/SSC - IMEMO and IUSAC Joint Symposia."

The third symposium was held in Menlo Park, California, 9-13 June 1975. Emphasis was placed on panel discussions rather than plenary sessions to maximize the opportunity for informal exchanges. Former Defense Secretary Schlesinger's LNO strategy continued to be a subject of high interest, as was the Middle East. The economic panel explored differing perceptions of global economic problems and contemporary issues in expanding U.S. and Soviet trade. The research results of the symposium have been briefed to several government agencies and a compilation of participant and observer reports is underway.

These symposia proved to be very useful to the Western participants. The systematic exchanges on a structured agenda and the spontaneous interactions by both sides on controversial issues generated a wealth of data. Important insights were gained into Soviet perceptions of the United States and Soviet conceptual and philosophical approaches to international relations. Moreover, these exchanges have underlined the issues of primary interest on the part of Soviet researchers in the areas of military strategy, foreign policy, and international economics. The three symposia provided SRI/SSC fundamental knowledge of the organization, individual personalities and career patterns, institutional and political role, and research foci of several Soviet social science research institutes. These data were instrumental in the design and execution of this study.